HISTORY

OF

ASSURBANIPAL,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

New Delhi

By GEORGE SMITH.

935.2
Smi.

Ref 417.5311
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WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
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PREFACE.

In the year 1866 I commenced copying Inscriptions with a view to publish a History of Assurbanipal. In the next year, 1867, I was appointed to assist Sir H. Rawlinson in preparing a new volume of Assyrian Inscriptions, and the copies of cylinder fragments of Assurbanipal, made by Mr. E. R. Bowler, were placed in my hands. These copies I found very useful, as Mr. Bowler had great experience in copying the Cuneiform character; and from them, in conjunction with my own copies, I put together the Cylinder Inscriptions, having at the time the benefit of Sir H. Rawlinson's supervision. These cylinders, and the principal tablets of Assurbanipal, were printed in the Third Volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.

After the printing of this work I found that, by search in the Museum cupboards, I was gathering a number of new fragments of the annals of Assurbanipal. I added these to my copies, and commenced translating them. On mentioning the subject to Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, the well-known Chronologist, he generously proposed to advance a sum of money for the publication of these annals, which sum he subsequently increased; and the completion of the work was provided for by Mr. H. Fox Talbot, the Assyrian scholar. To the kindness and liberality of these two gentlemen I am entirely indebted for the means of publishing my present work.

In order to make the book as perfect as possible I have re-copied all the texts from the original tablets and cylinders, but the fragmentary state of some of the inscriptions causes considerable doubt as to the reading of several passages; these, however, do not affect any important historical matter.

All passages restored will be found enclosed in brackets, thus [𒀀]; passages or signs present in one copy but omitted in another (𒀀); and variant words or passages are given thus (v. 𒀀).

The two books which I have most used in my translation are the Assyrian Dictionary of my friend Mr. E. Norris, and Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. I differ in opinion from Mr. Norris as to the meaning of several Assyrian words; but the numerous examples and comparisons given in his Dictionary make it a most valuable aid to Assyrian scholars. The printing of the present work has occupied about twelve months. It has been in the hands of Messrs. Harrison and Sons, who have spared no expense to make it perfect; and for its progress I am much indebted to Mr. John Mabey, the compositor, who has so much skill in setting-up the Cuneiform types.

My own chronological views are not very decided, for the Assyrian Inscriptions have introduced many difficulties into this already complicated subject; on this account I have said as little as possible about the chronology. Mr. Bosanquet has inserted, at the end of the book, a paper to explain his views on the subject of Chronology in connection with the Annals of Assurbanipal.

G. S.

September, 1871.

ASSURBANIPAL.

First among the sources of information respecting Assurbanipal must be placed the decagon cylinder (Cylinder A) in the British Museum. This inscription is the most perfect of his longer documents, and carries his history down to a later period than the others. Cylinder A, when complete, contained over 1,200 lines of cuneiform writing (about twenty lines are now quite lost), and is divided by lines drawn across the columns into thirteen parts. The inscriptions on other types of cylinders—the octagon (Cylinder B), the decagons (Cylinders C and D), and Cylinder E—supply us with accounts of two expeditions omitted on Cylinder A. Besides these there are many independent inscriptions, giving the history of particular campaigns; and lastly, the reports of the Assyrian generals to Assurbanipal, and his answers and proclamations. The history of Assurbanipal from these materials will divide itself into the following heads :—

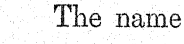
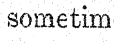
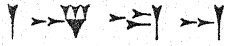
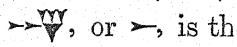
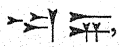
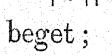
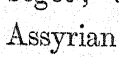
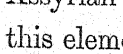
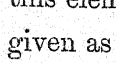
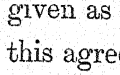
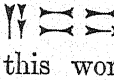
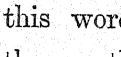
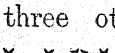
The introduction, genealogy, and accession of the monarch.
The first Egyptian war.
The second Egyptian war.
The siege of Tyre and affairs of Lydia.
The conquest of Karbit (omitted on Cylinder A).
The war with Minni.
The war with Urtaki, king of Elam (omitted on Cylinder A).

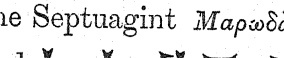
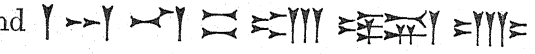
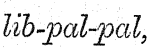
The war with Te-umman, king of Elam, and the conquest of Gambuli.
The revolt of Saul-mugina, brother of Assurbanipal.
The first war with Umman-aldas, king of Elam.
The second war with Umman-aldas.
The Arabian war.
The final triumph over Elam.
The buildings of Assurbanipal.
Later notices of his reign and sketch of the chronology.

Under each head the most important documents referring to it will be given, so far as possible, that the different accounts may be compared together. Cylinder A is here taken as the standard wherever it refers to the events.

PART I.

Introduction, Genealogy, and Accession of Assurbanipal.

The name of Assur-bani-pal, ordinarily written , sometimes  and , and once , consists of three elements; the first , , or , is the name of the god Assur; the second element, , , or , *bani* or *ban*, is a form of the verb to make or beget; and the third element, , , , or , is the Assyrian word for *son*. There is a doubt about the pronunciation of this element; in Cun. Ins. Vol. III, p. 70, l. 122, , *ibila*, is given as the Akkad value, and , *ablu*, as the Assyrian sound; this agrees with Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 53, l. 33, where the word is written , *abil;* but against this we have to place the fact that this word is rendered in the Hebrew and Greek, in the case of three other names, without the initial *a*. These names are , which is rendered in Hebrew

תגלתפלאסר, in the Septuagint *Θαλγαθφελλασὰρ*, in our version Tiglath Pileser; , in Hebrew מְרֹדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן, in the Septuagint *Μαρωδὰχ Βαλαδὰν*, in our version Merodach Baladan; and , in Josephus *Ναβοπαλάσσαρος*, and in Ptolemy *Ναβοπολλασάρου*. In the case of the inscribed brick, Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 5, No. xvii, , *pal*, is used for the word son, and the same syllable is used in the word , *lib-pal-pal*, meaning grandson, or any other descent further removed than a son. From these examples I have come to the conclusion that, when in combination with other elements, the word *abil*, a son, drops its initial *a* and becomes *pil*, *bal*, or *pal;* and I have chosen the name Assurbanipal, generally used by English scholars, in preference to Asur-bani-habal, the form given by Dr. Oppert.

TEXTS.

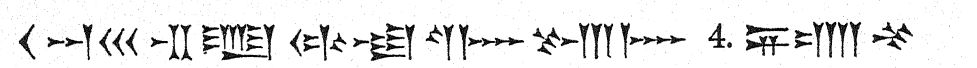
The principal texts relating to the genealogy and accession of Assurbanipal are Cylinder A, col. i, lines 1 to 50; Tablet K, 3050, which gives a very long account (an extract only from col. ii of this tablet is given); Cylinder B, col. i, lines 1 to 24 (lines 25 and 26 are lost, and lines 27 to end of introduction are identical with Cylinder A, col. i, lines 45 to 50); Tablet K, 2641, which appears to be a fragment of a letter from Assurbanipal to his father Esar-haddon; and an extract from the Sale Tablet K, 321.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 50.

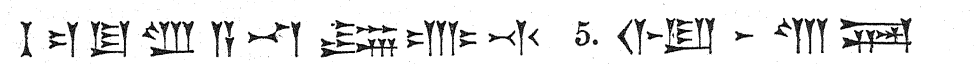
1. 
A - na - ku Assur-bani-pal bi - nu - tu Assur va Bilat
I am Assurbanipal, the progeny of Assur and Beltis,

2. 
ablu sar rab - u sa Bit - rid - u - ti
son of the great king of Bit-riduti,

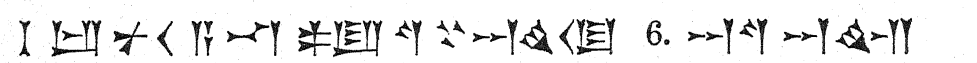
3. 
sa Assur
whom Assur



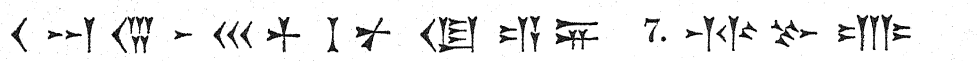
va Sin bil age ul - tu immi ruquti 4. ni - bit sum
and Sin the lord of crowns, from remote days, the account



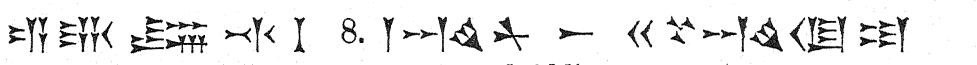
su iz - ku - ru a - na ṣar - u - ti 5. va ina lib ummi
of his name had prophesied to the kingdom, and in the body



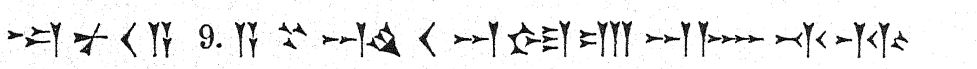
su ib - nu-u a - na riu - ut Assur 6. Samas Vul
of his mother, have made to rule Assyria. Shamas, Vul,



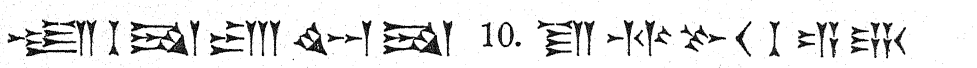
va Istar ina uzzi su-nu ke - e - ni 7. ig - bu - u
and Ishtar, in their supreme power, commanded the



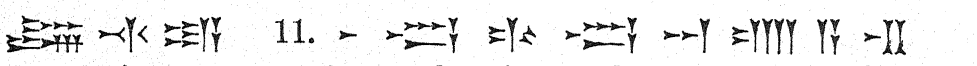
e - pis ṣarru - ti su 8. Assur - aḫ-iddina ṣar Assur abu
making of his kingdom. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father



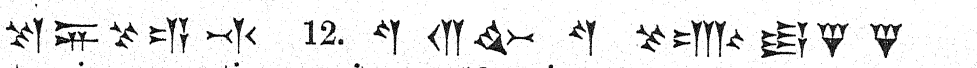
ba - nu-u a 9. a-mat Assur va Bilat Ili ti - ik -
my begetter, the will of Assur and Beltis the Gods



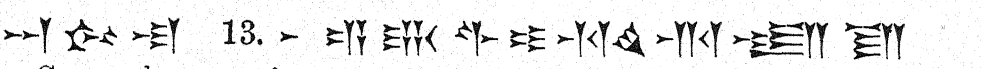
- li su it - ta - h - id 10. sa ig - bu-u su e - pis
his protectors he exalted, who commanded him to make



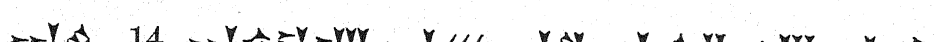
ṣaru - ti ya 11. ina araḫ Airu araḫ He - a bil
my kingdom. In the month Iyyar the month of Hea the lord



te - ni - se - e - ti 12. immu 12 immu magaru se - sa sa
of mankind, on the 12th day, a fortunate day, the festival of



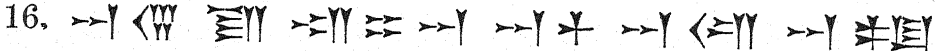
Gu - la 13. ina e - pis pi - i mut - tal - li sa
Bel; in performing the important determination, which



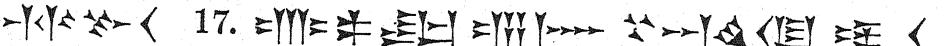
14. Assur Bilat Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
Assur, Beltis, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,



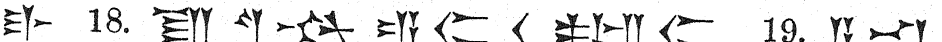
15. Istar sa Ninua il - ṣar - rat Kit - mu - ri
Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,



16. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku



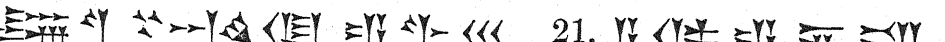
17. ig - bu-u u - pa - ḥir nisi Assur zaḥiri va
commanded: he gathered the men of Assyria, small and



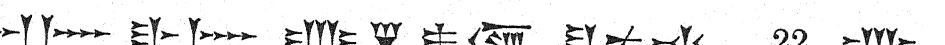
18. rabati sa tam - te e - lit va sap - lit 19. a - na
great, and of the upper and lower seas; to the



20. na - ẓir zaḥri ṣaru - ti ya va arku - nu
setting apart (i.e. *inauguration*) *of my kingdom, and afterwards*



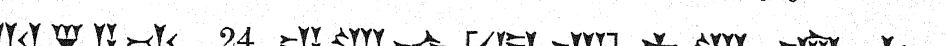
21. ṣaru - ut Assur e - pe - es a - de - e ni - is
the kingdom of Assyria I ruled. The observances of



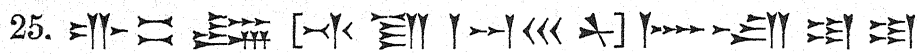
22. Ili rabati u - sa as - kir su-nu- ti u -
the great Gods, I caused to be performed to them, I



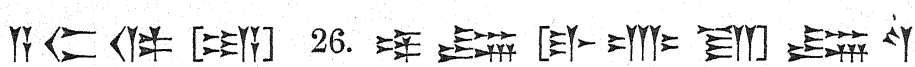
23. dan - ni - [na] rak - ṣa - a - ti ina ḫidati
confirmed the covenants. With joy and



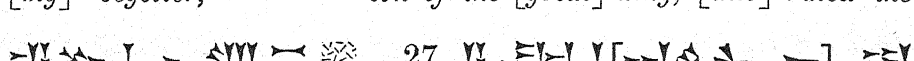
24. ri - sa - a - ti e - ru - ub [ki - rib] pa - ru - nak - ti
shouting I entered [*into*] *the royal gardens*



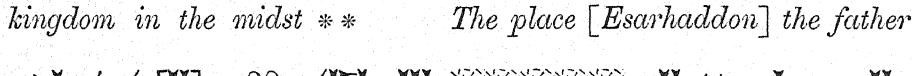
25. mar-kas ṣaru - [ti sa Sin] - aḫi - irba abu abu
the royal property of Sennacherib, the father of the father



a - lid - di [ya] 26. aplu ṣaru [rab- u sa] ṣaru - ut
[my] begetter, son of the [great] king, [who] ruled the



e - pu - su ina lib - bi * * 27. a - sar [Assur -aḫ-iddina] abu
*kingdom in the midst * * The place [Esarhaddon] the father*



ba - nu-u [a] 28. ki - rib * * * * * e - pu - su bi - lut
*[my] begetter, within * * * * * ruled the dominion*



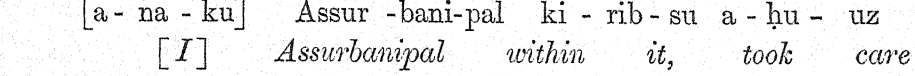
Assur 29. Iz * * * * * ba va kim - tu u -
*of Assyria. Iz * * * * * ba, and the family*



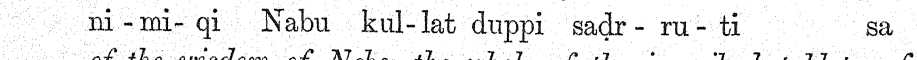
- rap - pe - [es] 30. * * * * * * su tu sa - la * *
*grew up * * * * * * * su tu sa - la * **



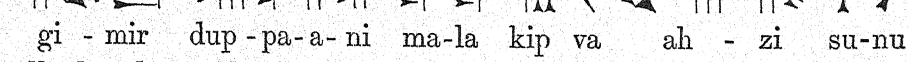
[a - na - ku] Assur -bani-pal ki - rib - su a - ḫu - uz
[I] Assurbanipal within it, took care



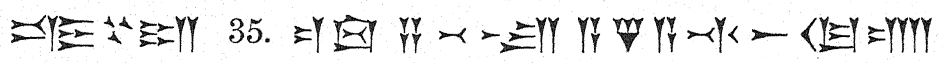
ni - mi - qi Nabu kul - lat duppi saḏr - ru - ti 33. sa
of the wisdom of Nebo, the whole of the inscribed tablets, of



gi - mir dup - pa - a - ni ma-la kip va ah - zi su-nu
all the clay tablets, the whole of their mysteries and difficulties,



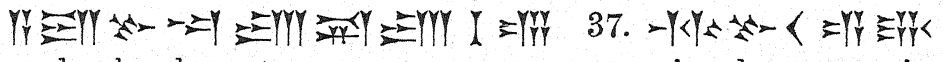
a - ḫi - id 34. al - gis ab - sa - le - e iz - bam ru - du
I solved. al gis ab sa le, powerful bows,



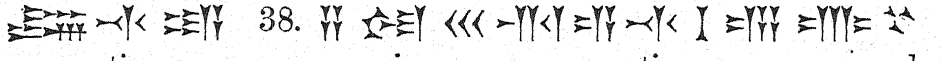
susi rukubi za-mid- ṣu a-sa-a- ti ina ki - bit
horses, chariots and their harness firmly fitted. By the



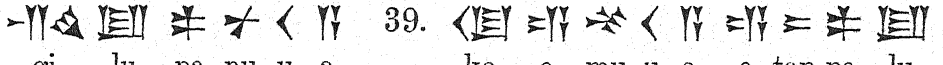
ili rabati sa sip - ku ra * bit - sun
*will of the great Gods who * * * their * * *.*



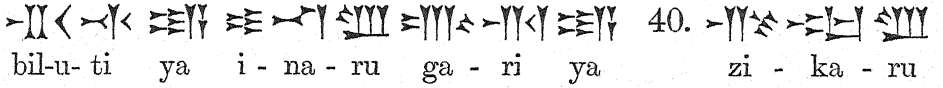
a- da - bu - ba ta - us - ta su-un ig - bu-u e - pis
I proclaimed their laws, they commanded the making



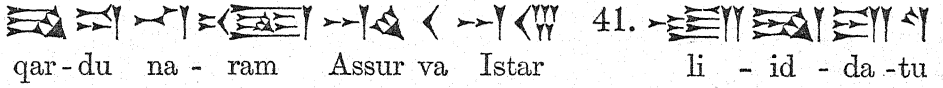
ṣaru - ti ya za- nin es- re - e - ti su- un u - sad-
of my kingdom, the embellishing of their temples, they



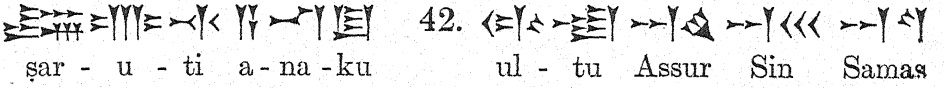
- gi - lu pa-nu-u a ke - e -mu-u a e -tap-pa - lu
entrusted to me, for me they exalted my



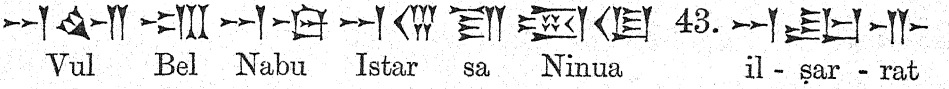
bil-u- ti ya i - na - ru ga - ri ya zi - ka - ru
dominion and cast down my enemies. The man of



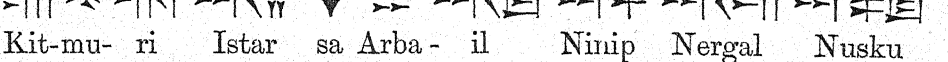
qar - du na - ram Assur va Istar li - id - da -tu
war, exalted by Assur and Ishtar, the royal off-
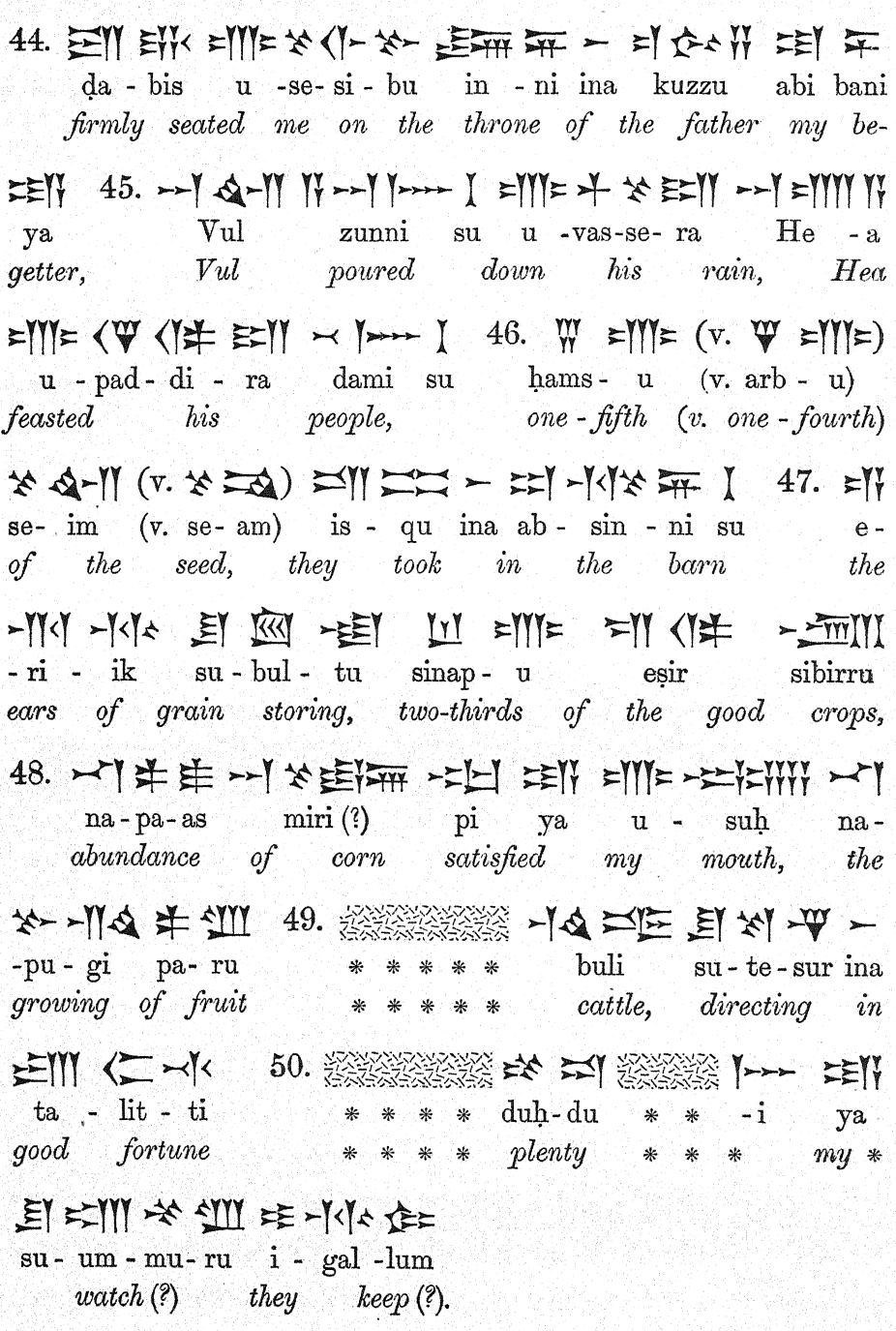


ṣar - u - ti a - na -ku ul - tu Assur Sin Samas
spring am I. When Assur, Sin, Shamas,



Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua il - ṣar - rat
Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen



Kit-mu- ri Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
of Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku



44. ḍa - bis u -se- si - bu in - ni ina kuzzu abi bani
firmly seated me on the throne of the father my be-

ya 45. Vul zunni su u -vas-se- ra He - a
getter, Vul poured down his rain, Hea

u - pad - di - ra dami su ḥams - u (v. arb - u)
feasted his people, one - fifth (v. one - fourth)

se- im (v. se- am) is - qu ina ab - sin - ni su e-
of the seed, they took in the barn the

- ri - ik su - bul - tu sinap - u eṣir sibirru
ears of grain storing, two-thirds of the good crops,

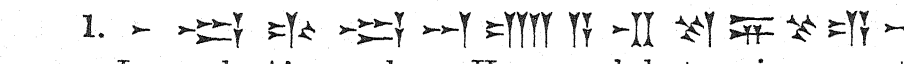
48. na - pa - as miri (?) pi ya u - suḥ na-
abundance of corn satisfied my mouth, the

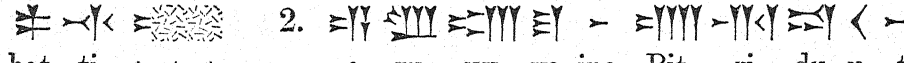
-pu - gi pa- ru * * * * * buli su - te - sur ina
*growing of fruit * * * * * cattle, directing in*

ta - lit - ti 50. * * * * duḥ - du * * - i ya
*good fortune * * * * plenty * * * my **

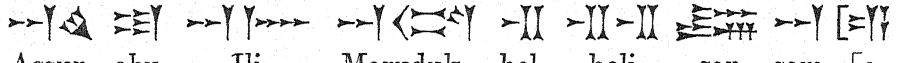
su - um - mu - ru i - gal - lum
watch (?) they keep (?).

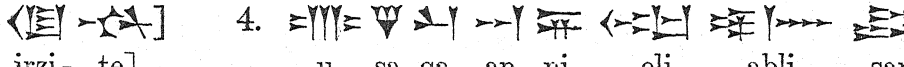
EXTRACT FROM TABLET K, 3050, COLUMN II.

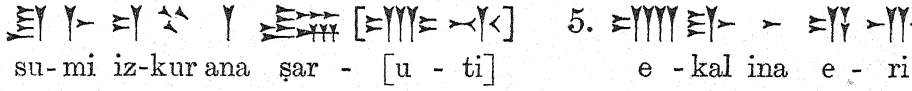
1. 
Ina araḥ Airu araḥ He - a bel te - ni - se - e - ti
In the month Iyyar, the month of Hea, lord of mankind,

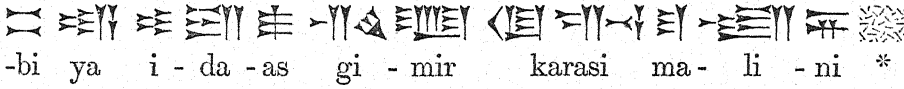

ḥat - ti * * * e - ru - uv - va ina Bit - ri - du - u - ti
*hat - ti * * * and I entered into Bit-riduti,*

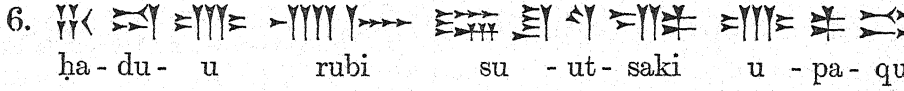

a - sar ḍe - e - mi va mil - [ki] * * * ina ki - bit
*the place of judgment and council * * * by command of*

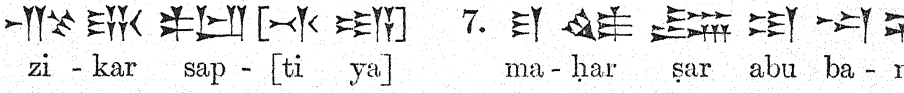

Assur abu Ili Maruduk bel beli ṣar sam - [e va
Assur, father of the Gods, and Merodach lord of lords, king of heaven [and

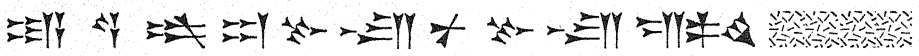

irṣi - te] u - sa - qa an - ni eli abli ṣar
earth]; they desired (?) me, and before the sons of the king,


su - mi iz - kur ana ṣar - [u - ti] e - kal ina e - ri -
my name they proclaimed to the kingdom. The palace of my

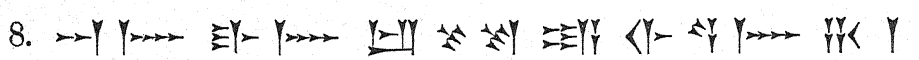

-bi ya i - da - as gi - mir karasi ma - li - ni * *
*entry knew, all the camp malini * **


ḥa - du - u rubi su - ut - saki u - pa - qu
joyfully the princes and generals listened to the

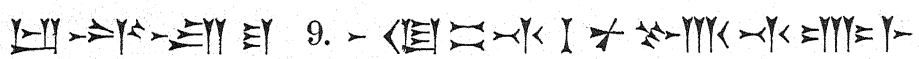

zi - kar sap - [ti ya] ma - ḥar ṣar abu ba - ni
commands of [my] lips; in the presence of the king



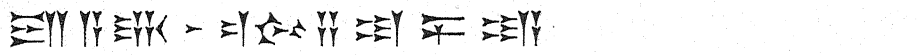
ya zab-tak ab-bu-ṣu-nu bu-ṣu-ris * * * *
the father my begetter, in order(?) I placed(?) them as * * * * *

8. 

Ili rabati ip-se-te ya damiqti ḫa-dis
The great Gods my good deeds joyfully



ip-pal-ṣu va ina ki-bi-ti su-nu ẓir-ti u-sib
established, and by their high command I firmly sat on

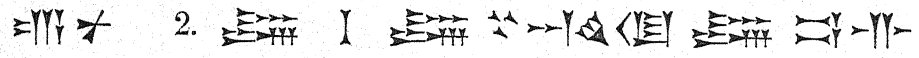


ʾḍa-a-bis ina kuzzu abi bani ya
the throne of the father my begetter.

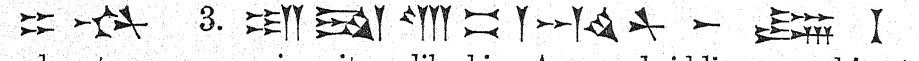
Cylinder B, Column I, Lines 1 to 24.

1. 

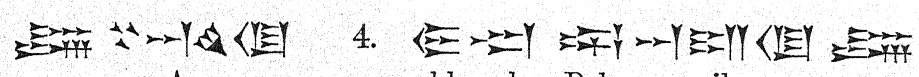
A-na-ku Assur-bani-pal ṣar rab-u ṣar
I am Assurbanipal the great king, the powerful king,



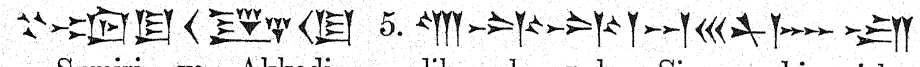
dan-nu 2. ṣar kissat ṣar Assur ṣar kip-rat
the king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four



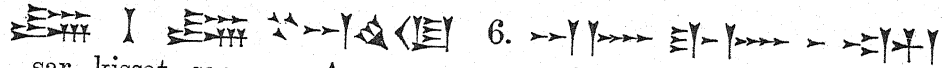
arba-te 3. ẓi-it lib-bi Assur-aḫ-iddina ṣar kissat
regions; proceeding from the body of Esarhaddon, king of nations,



ṣar Assur 4. sakkanaku Bab-il ṣar
king of Assyria, high priest of Babylon, king of

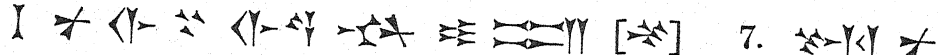


Sumiri va Akkadi 5. lib-pal-pal Sin-aḫi-irba
the Sumir and Akkad; grandson of Sennacherib,



ṣar-kissat ṣar Assur Ili rabati ina puḥri

king of nations, king of Assyria. The great Gods in their



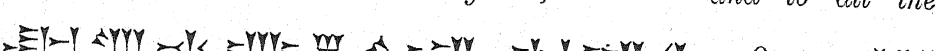
su-nu si-mat damiq-te i-sim-[mu] uz-nu

assembly a good account have heard, and



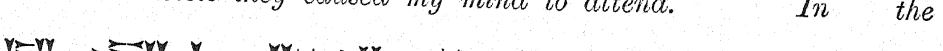
ra-pa-as-tu is-ru-ku-u-ni kul-lat duppani

attentive ears have given; and to all the



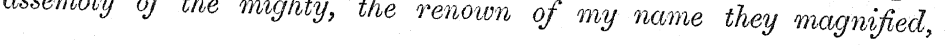
saḏr-ru-ti u-sa-ḥi-zu ka-ra-si ina puḥri

inscribed tablets they caused my mind to attend. In the



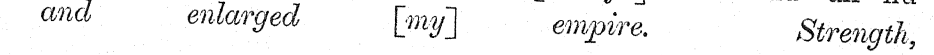
lu-li-mi zi-kar sum-ya u-sar-[bu-u]

assembly of the mighty, the renown of my name they magnified,



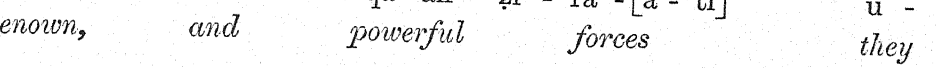
u-sar-bu-u ṣar-u-[ti-ya] du-un-nu

and enlarged [my] empire. Strength,



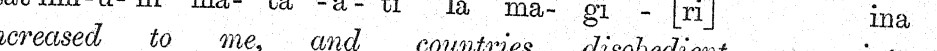
zik-ru-u-tu e-mu-qa-an ṣi-ra-[a-ti] u-

renown, and powerful forces they



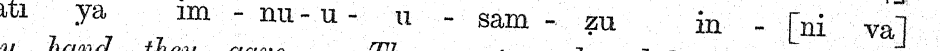
-sat-lim-u-ni ma-ta-a-ti la ma-gi-[ri] ina

increased to me, and countries disobedient into



qati ya im-nu-u-u-sam-ṣu in-[ni va]

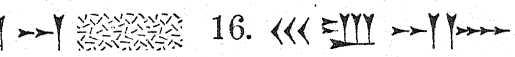
my hand they gave. They strengthened (?) me and

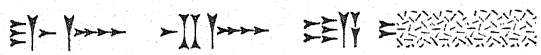


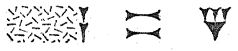
sa-an-gu-ti iḥ * * * * na-dan

*the priests * * * * * the*


zi - bi ya i - lu eli il(?) * * *
gifts of my fingers, the Gods over * * *

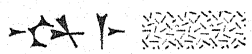
16. 
es - rit ili
the temples of

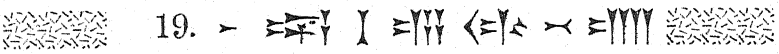

rabati beli ya * * *
the great Gods my lords * * *

17. 
* * bi sa
* * *bi of*

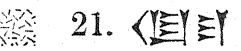

ḫuraẓ * * * *
gold. * * * *

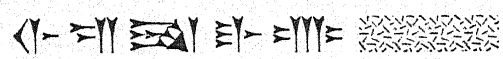
18.
sukulli - - - - - - -
winged figures(?),

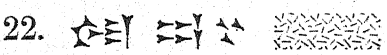

tim -mi * * *
columns * * *

19. 
ina babati su - un ul -ziz Bit * * *
in their gates I set up, Bit * * *

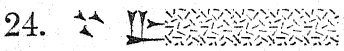
20. 
Bit -mas masu Bit -bilat- matati Bit * * * *
Bit mas masu, Bit bilat matati, Bit * * * *

21. 
ki -ma
like a

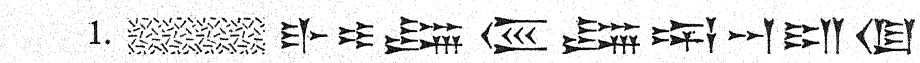

si - ṣi - it rab - u * * * *
great * * * * * * * *

22. 
allat nap-sat * * *
lady of life * * *

23. 
e - li * * * *
over * * * *

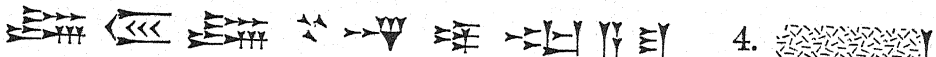
24. 
vad-duk * * * *
* * * * * * * *

Fragment of a Letter, K, 2641.

1. 
* * * * rab- i ṣar kissat ṣar Bab - ili
* * * * *great, king of nations, king of Babylon,*

2. 
* * * * ṣar a - bi ya ki - bi va

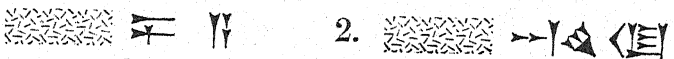
3. 
* * * * u
* * * * *the king my father in consort with me;* * * * *


ṣar kissat ṣar Assur ablu ka - a va 4. * * * *
king of nations, king of Assur, thy son, and * * * *


rabati su 5. * * * * * * dan-nis lu - u ṣalim - mu
his great * * * * * * *much peace* * *


6. * * * * a-ma 7. * * * * ya Rest of obverse lost.
* * * * * * * * * * *my*

On reverse:


1. * * * bani-pal 2. * * * Assur
* * * *banipal* * * * *Assyria.*

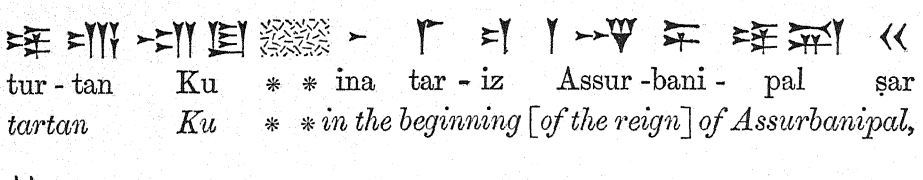
The following is the most probable restoration of this fragment:

"[To Esarḥaddon] the great [king], king of nations, king of "Babylon, [king of the four regions,] the king my father in consort "with me; [from Assurbanipal] the great [king], king of nations, "king of Assyria, thy son * * * * his great [men(?) to the king my "lord, may there be] much peace * * * * * my * * * * *."

On reverse: "[Palace of Assur]banipal [king of nations, king "of] Assyria."

Date on Sale Tablet K.


Ina araḫ abu immu 27 li - mu Mar - la - rim
In the month of Ab, the 27th day, the eponymy of Marlarmi, the



tur - tan Ku * * ina tar - iz Assur -bani - pal ṣar
tartan *Ku* * * *in the beginning [of the reign] of Assurbanipal,*



Assur
king of Assyria.

From these texts we learn that Assurbanipal was the son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, and that he was made king of Assyria during his father's lifetime, on the 12th day of the month Iyyar (April), in the eponymy of Marlarim; which, according to the Assyrian eponym canon, was B.C. 668; and this year is further given in Ptolemy's canon as the last year of Esarhaddon. Ptolemy's list for this period being—

Ασαριδινου	νγ′ [13 years]	π′ [end 60 year N.]	B.C. 680-668.	
Σαοσδουχίνου	χ′ [20 years]	ρ′ [end 80 year N.]	B.C. 667-648.	

Saosduchin, the successor of Esarhaddon at Babylon (according to Ptolemy), is the brother of Assurbanipal, usually called Saulmugina. He was made tributary king of Babylon, on the death of Esarhaddon (see Part ix).

PART II.

The First Egyptian War.

TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history are, Cylinder A, col. i, line 51, to col. ii, line 60; Cylinder B, col. i, line 34, to col. ii, line 22. The text of Cylinder B being in most places the same as Cylinder A only the variant passages need notice; the same may be said of Cylinder C, which has one variant passage, but otherwise agrees with Cylinder B. Cylinder E gives a different text, part only of which is preserved. Tablet K, 3083, has a passage connecting this text with that of the large Egyptian Tablets, K, 2675, and K, 228. Beside the Assyrian texts it is necessary here to give some notice of the Egyptian inscriptions bearing on the subject.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINE 51, TO COLUMN II, LINE 60.

51. 

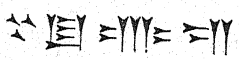
I - na - maḥ - re - e gar - ri ya a - na . Ma - gan

In my first expedition to Makan

52. 

va Mi - luḫ - ḫa lu - u - al - lik Tar - qu - u ṣar Mu - ṣur

and Meroe I went. Tirhakah king of Egypt



Ku - u - ṣi

and Ethiopia,

53. 

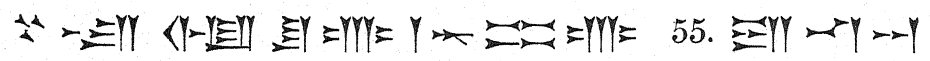
sa Assur - aḫ - iddina ṣar Assur

of whom Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the



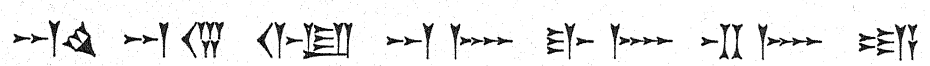
abu ba-nu-u a abikta su is-ku-nu va 54. i-bi-lu

father my begetter, his overthrow had accomplished; and had



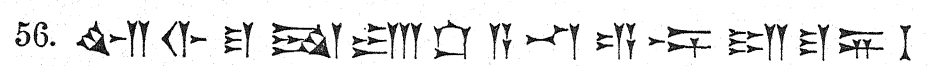
mat ṣu va su-u Tar-qu-u 55. da-na-an

taken possession of his country; and he Tirhakah, the power of



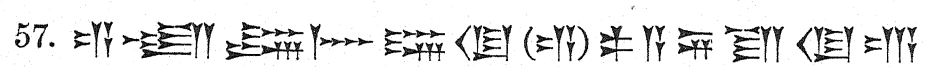
Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya

Assur Ishtar and the great Gods my lords



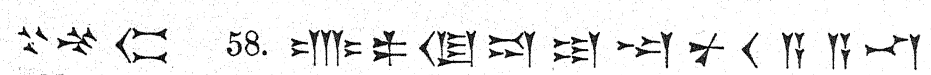
56. im-si va it-ta-gil a-na e-muq ra-ma-ni su

despised, and trusted to his own might.



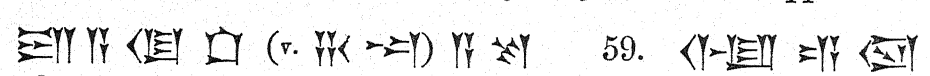
57. e-li ṣarri ke-(e)-pa-a-ni sa ki-rib

Of the kings and governors whom in the midst



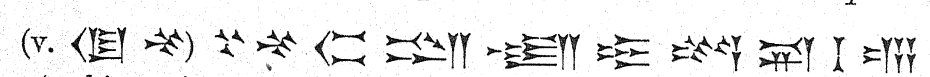
Mu-ṣur 58. u-pa-ki-du abu ba-nu-u a a-na

of Egypt, the father my begetter had appointed;



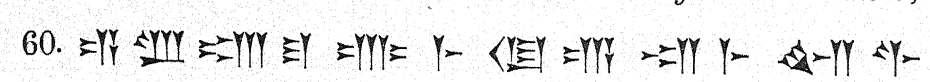
da-a-ki ḥab (v. ḥa-ba)-a-te 59. va e-kim

to slay, plunder, and to capture



(v. ki-mu) Mu-ṣur il-li-kan ṣir-us-su-un

Egypt, he came against them;



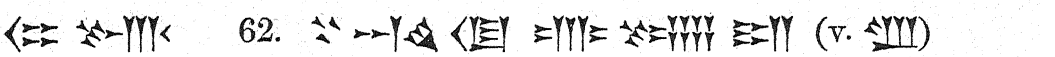
60. e-ru-uv-va u-sib ki-rib Mi-im-pi

he entered, and sat in Memphis, the



61. alu sa abu ba-nu-u a ik-su-du va a-na

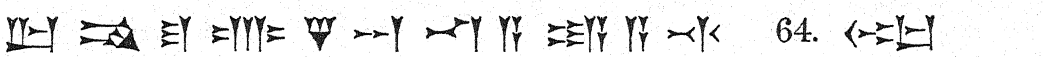
city which the father my begetter had taken, and to the



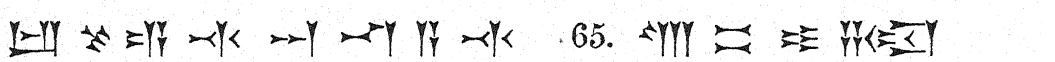
62. me-ṣir Assur u-tir-ra (v. ru)
boundaries of Assyria had added. I was



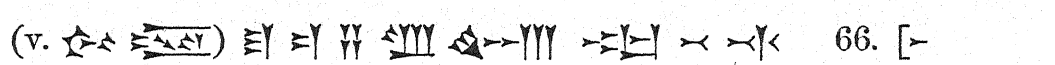
63. al-la-ku ḫa-an-ḍu ina ki-rib Ninua il-
walking round in the midst of Nineveh, and



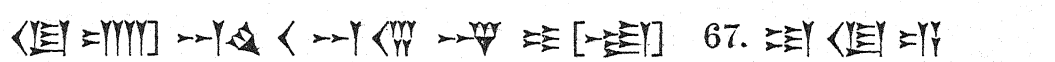
64. -lik-av-va u-sa-an-na-a ya-a-ti eli
one came and repeated [this] to me; over



65. ip-se-e-ti an-na-a-ti lib-bi i-gug
these things my heart



66. (v. gu-ug) va iz-za-ru-uḫ ka-bi-ti [ina
was bitter and much afflicted; [by



ki-bit] Assur va Istar Assur-i-[tu] ad-ke-e
the command] of Assur and the Goddess Assuritu I



e-mu-ki ya ṣi-ra-a-ti sa Assur va
gathered my powerful forces, which Assur and



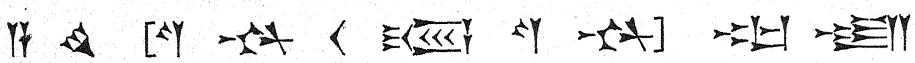
69. Istar u-mal-lu-u qa-tu-u a a-na Mu-ṣur
Ishtar had placed in my hands. To Egypt

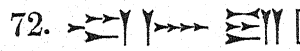


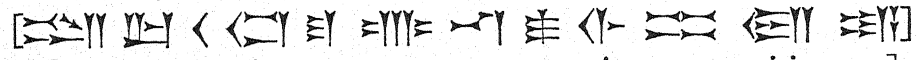
70. va Ku-u-ṣi us-te-se-ra mur-ra-nu ina
and Ethiopia I directed the march; in



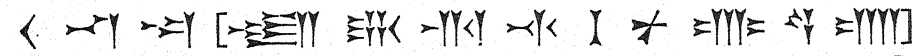
71. mi-ti-iq gar-ri ya 22 ṣarri sa
the course of my expedition 22 kings of


a - ḥi [tam - ti va qabal tam - ti] ka - li
the side of the [sea and the middle of the sea,] all

72. 
ardi da -[gil pa- ni ya] 73. ina maḥ - ri ya
tributaries dependent [on me], to my presence

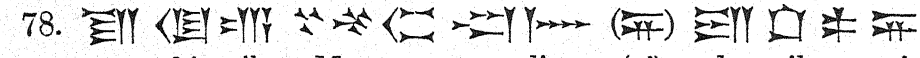

[il - lik - u - niv - va u - na - as - si - qu niri ya]
[came and kissed my feet].

74. 
ṣarri sa - a - tu -[nu] * * * * 75. ina tam- ti
*Those kings * * * * * * on sea*

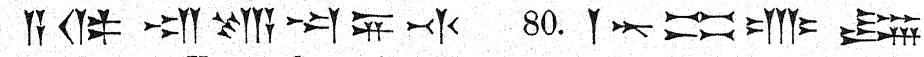

va na - ba - [li gar - ri - ti su - nu u - ẓab - bit]
and land [their roads I took,]

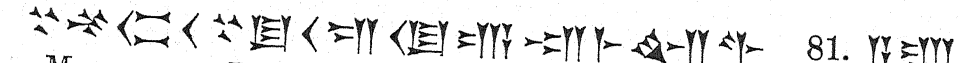
76. 
ur - ḥu pa - da - nu * * * * * 77. a - na
*the straight path * * * * * * * for*


na - ra - ru - ti ḥa-maḍ sa ṣarri ki - pa - a - ni
the entire aid (i.e. restoration) of the kings and governors

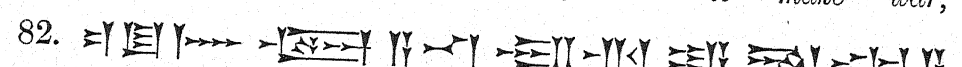
78. 
sa ki - rib Mu - ẓur ardi - (ni) da - gil pa - ni
who in the midst of Egypt (were) tributaries dependent on

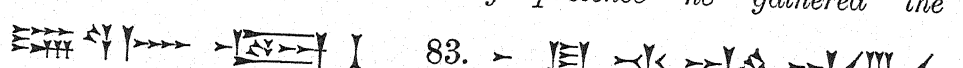

ya 79. ur - ru - hi - is ar - de - e va al - lik
me; quickly I descended and went

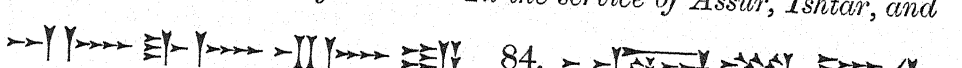

a- di Kar - ba - ni - ti 80. Tar - qu - u ṣar
to Karbanit. Tirhakah king

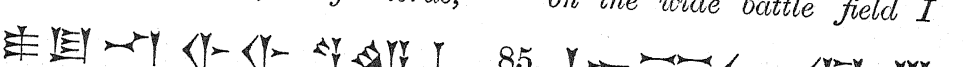

Mu - ṣur va Ku - u - ṣi ki - rib Mi - im - pi 81. a - lak
of Egypt and Ethiopia, in the midst of Memphis, of the


gar - ri ya is - me - e va a - na e - pis qabal
progress of my expedition heard; and to make war,


82. kakki taḫaz a - na maḫ - ri ya id - ka - a
fighting and battle, to my presence he gathered the

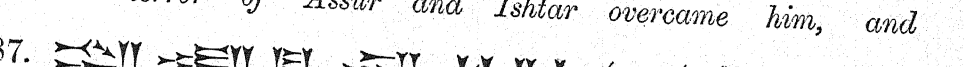

ṣabi taḫazi su 83. ina tugul - ti Assur Istar va
men of his army. In the service of Assur, Ishtar, and

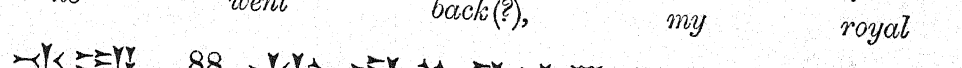

Ili rabati beli ya 84. in taḫaz ṣir rap - si
the great Gods, my lords, on the wide battle field I

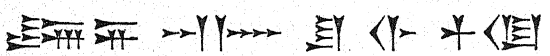

as - ku - na abikta umman su 85. Tar - qu - u ina ki - rib
accomplished the overthrow of his army. Tirhakah in the midst of


Mi - im - pi is - ma - a taḫ - te - e umman su
Memphis, heard of the defeat of his army;


86. nam - ri - ri Assur va Istar iṣ - ḫu - pu su va
the terror of Assur and Ishtar overcame him, and

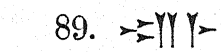

87. il - li - ku maḫ - ḫu - ur me - lam - mi ṣar -
he went back(?), my royal


u - ti ya 88. ik - tu - mu su va sa u - za - ḫi - i - nu
advance overwhelmed him, and they brought(?)



in - ni Ili su pan mas- ki

to me(?) his Gods before my camp,

89. 

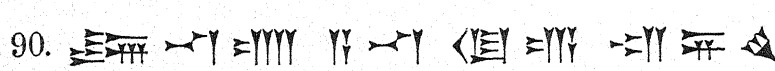
Mi - im - pi

Memphis



u - vaṣ- ṣir va a- na su - zu - ub napis- ti su

he abandoned, and to save his life

90. 

in - na - bit a- na ki - rib Ni - ha alu

he fled into Thebes. That city



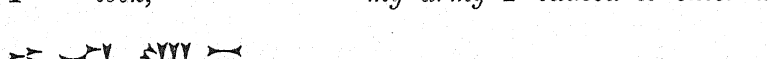
su - a-tu aẓ -bat

I took,

91.

umman ya u -se- rib u -se-sib

my army I caused to enter and rest in



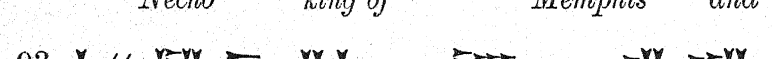
i - na lib - bi

the midst of it.

92. 

Ni - ku- u ṣar Mi - im - pi va Ṣa - ai

Necho king of Memphis and Sais.

93. 

Ṣar - lu - da - ri ṣar Ẓi - hi - nu

Sarludari king of Pelusium(?).

94. 

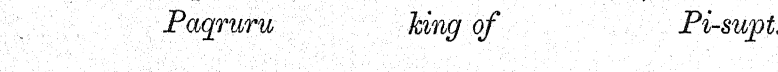
Pi - sa- an - ḫu - ru ṣar Na - at - ḫu - u

Pisan-hor king of Natho.

95. 

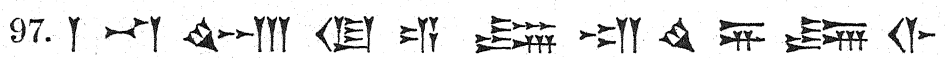
Pa - aq - ru - ru ṣar (Pi) - sab - tu

Paqruru king of Pi-supt.

96. 

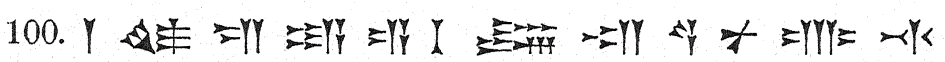
Pu- uk -ku- na -an-ni- ha - pi ṣar Ḫa - at-ḫi- ri - bi

Pukkunanni-hapi king of Athribis.

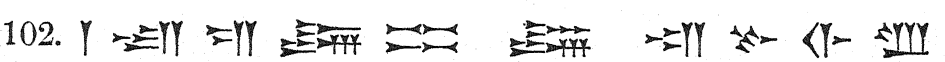
97. 
Na - aḥ - ke - e ṣar Ḥi - ni - in - si
Nech-ke *king of* *Henins.*

98. 
Pu - ḍu - bis - ti ṣar Za - ha - nu
Petubastes *king of* *Tanis.*

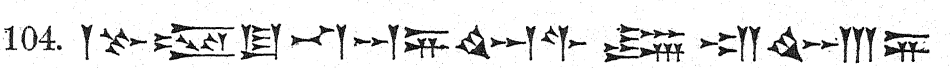
99. 
U - na - mu - nu ṣar Na - at - ḥu - u
Unamunu *king of* *Natho.*

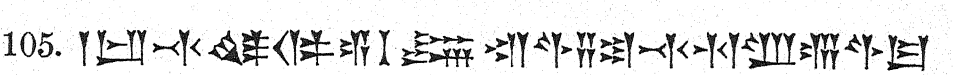
100. 
Ḥar - ṣi - ya - e - su ṣar Zab - nu - u - ti
Horsiesis *king of* *Sebennytus.*

101. 
Bu - u - ai - va ṣar Bi - in - di - di
Buaiuva *king of* *Mendes.*

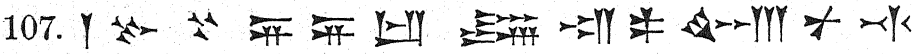
102. 
Ṣu - ṣi - in - qu ṣar Bu - si - ru
Sheshonk *king of* *Busiris.*

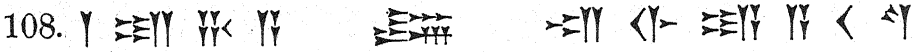
103. 
Tap - na - aḥ - ti ṣar Bu - nu - bu
Tnephachthus *king of* *Bunubu.*

104. 
Pu - uk - ku - na - an - ni - ha - pi ṣar Aḥ - ni
Pukkunanni-hapi *king of* *Akhni.*

105. 
Ip - ti - ḥar - ḍe - e - su ṣar Pi - za - at - ti - ḥu - ru - un - pi - ku
Iptikhardesu *king of* *Pazatti-hurunpiku.*

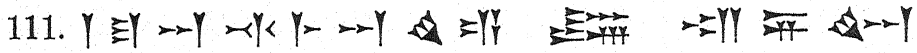
106. 
Na - aḥ - ti - ḥu - ru - an - si - ni ṣar Pi - sab - ḍi - nu - ti
Necht-hor-ansini *king of* *Pi-sabdinut.*

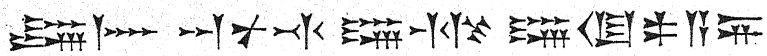
107. 
Bu -kur- ni - ni - ip ṣar Pa - aḥ -nu - ti
Bukur-ninip *king of* *Pachnut.*

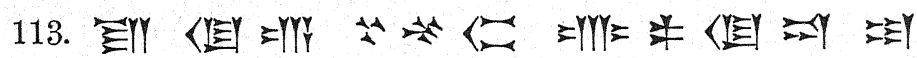
108. 
Ẓi - ḥa - a ṣar Si - ya - a - u - ut
Zikha *king of* *Siyout.*

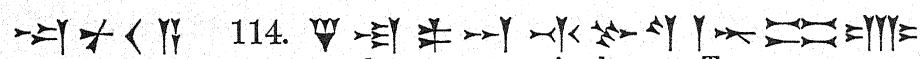
109. 
La - mi - in - tu ṣar Ḥi - mu - ni
Lamintu *king of* *Chemmis.*

110. 
Is - pi - ma - a - ḍu ṣar Ta - ai - ni
Ispimathu *king of* *Abydos.*

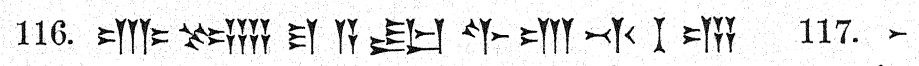
111. 
Ma - an - ti - mi - an - ḥe - e ṣar Ni - ha
Munti-mi-anche *king of* *Thebes.*

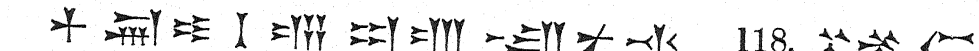
112. 
ṣarri an - nu - ti sanuti ki - pa - a - ni
These kings, prefects, and governors,

113. 
sa ki - rib Mu - ẓur u - pa - ki - du abu
whom in the midst of Egypt, the father my begetter had

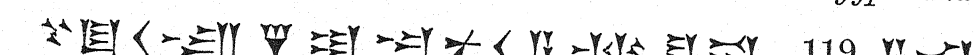

ba - nu - u a sa la pa - an ti - bu - ut Tar - qu - u
appointed; who before the advance of Tirhakah

115. 
pi - kit - ta su - un u - vas - se - ru im - lu - u ẓer
their appointments had left, and fled to the desert,

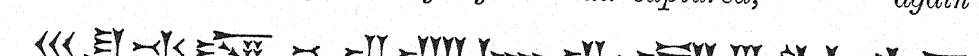
116. 
117.
u - tir va a - sar pi - kit - ti su - un ina
I restored; and the places of their appointments in



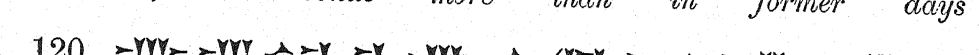
mas-gar-i su-un ap-kid ṣu-nu-ti 118. Mu-ṣur
their divisions, I appointed them. Egypt and



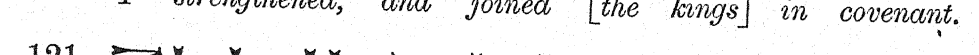
Ku-u-ṣi sa abu ba-nu-u a ik-su-du a-na
Ethiopia, which the father my begetter had captured, again



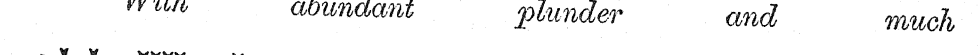
es-su-ti aẓ-bat mazirti e-li sa im-mi pa-ni
I took, the bonds more than in former days



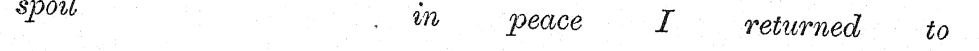
u-dan-nin va u-rak-ki-ṣa rak-ṣa-a-ti
I strengthened, and joined [the kings] in covenant.



it-ti ḫu-ub ti ma-ḫ-di sal-la-ti
With abundant plunder and much



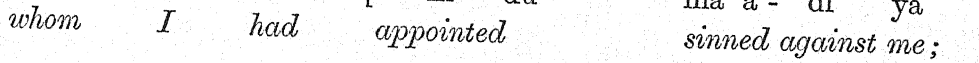
ka-bit-ti 122. sal-mi-is a-tu-ra a-na
spoil in peace I returned to



Ninua 123. arka-nu (v. ar-ka-a-nu) ṣarri
Nineveh. Afterwards all those kings

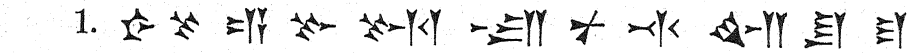


an-nu-ti ma-la ap-ki-du 124. ina a-di ya
whom I had appointed sinned against me;

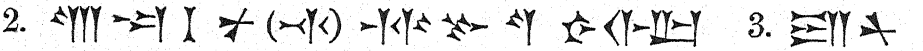


iḫ-du-u la iẓ-ẓu-ru ma-mit Ili rabati
they did not keep the oath of the great Gods.

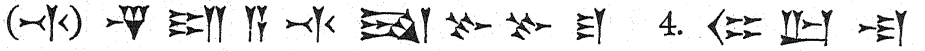
Column II.



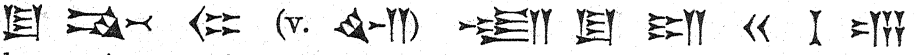
Seme e - bu - uṣ ṣu - nu - ti im - su va
The good I did to them they despised,



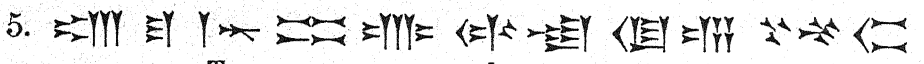
lib - ba su - nu - (ti) ik - bu - ud limutti da - bab -
and their hearts devised evil; seditious



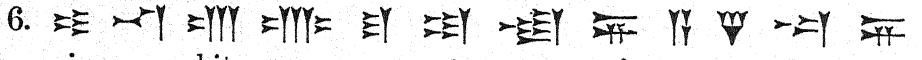
(ti) ṣur - ra - a - ti id - bu - bu va mi - lik la
words they spoke, and evil council



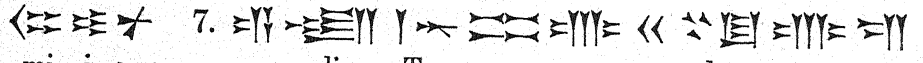
ku - sir mi (v. im) - li - ku ra - man su - un
they counselled among themselves;



um - ma Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu - ṣur
thus: "Tirhakah from the midst of Egypt



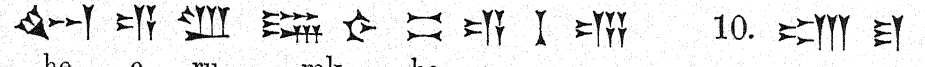
i - na - kit - u va at - tu - ni a - sa - ba ni
is cut off, and to us our seats



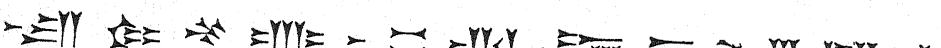
mi - i - nu e - li Tar - qu - u ṣar ku - u - ṣi
remain(?)." Unto Tirhakah king of Ethiopia



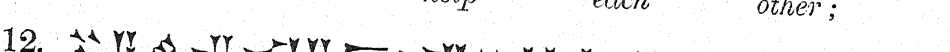
a - na sa - kan a - de - e va ṣa - li - mi u - ma -
to make agreement and alliance they

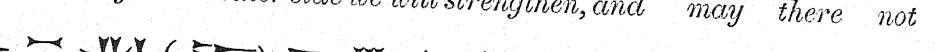


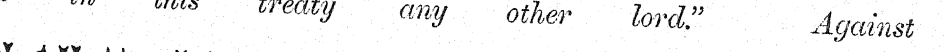
he - e - ru rak - be - e su - un um - ma
directed their messengers, thus:

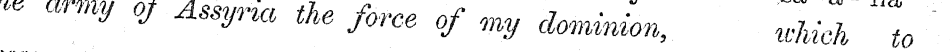

ṣu - lum - mu - u ina bi - ri - in - ni lis - sa - kin va
"May an alliance by this treaty be established, and

11. 
ni - in - id (v. dag) - ga - ra a - ḥa - mis
we will help each other;

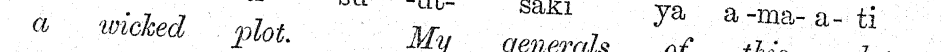
12. 
mat a-ḥe-en-na-a ni - zu - uz va 13. ai ib - ba - si
the country on the other side we will strengthen, and may there not

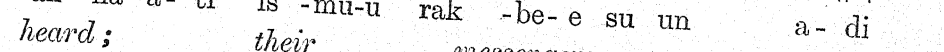

in bi - ri (-in) - ni sa-nu- uv -va be - luv 14. a - na
be in this treaty any other lord." Against

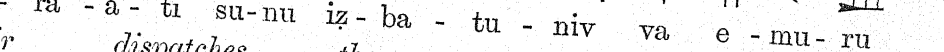

umman Assur e -muq bi- lu - ti - ya 15. sa a - na
the army of Assyria the force of my dominion, which to

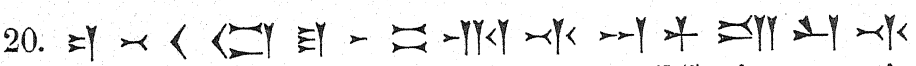

kit - ri su - nu us - zi - zu is - te - ni - hu - u
their aid had been raised, they devised

16. 
a -mat limut - ti su -ut- saki ya a -ma- a - ti
a wicked plot. My generals of this plot

17. 
an - na -a- ti is -mu-u rak -be- e su un 18. a - di
heard; their messengers and


sip - ra - a - ti su-nu iẓ - ba - tu - niv va e - mu - ru
their dispatches they captured, and saw

19. 
ip - sit ṣur - ra - a - ti su - un ṣarri an - nu - ti
their seditious work. These kings



20. iẓ-bat-u-niv-va ina bi-ri-ti parzil(?) is-qa-ti
they took; and in bonds of iron and fetters of



parzil(?) 21. u-tam-mi-ḫu qati va niri ma-mit Assur
iron, bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur



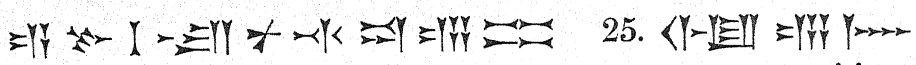
ṣar Ili 22. ik-su-uṣ-ṣu-nu-ti va sa
king of the Gods took them who



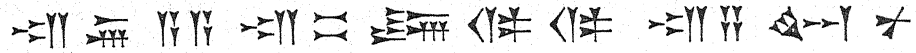
iḫ-ḍu-u 23. ina a-de-e (Ili) rabati
sinned against the great (Gods);



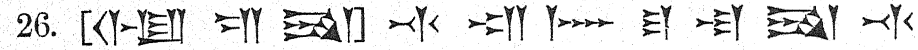
ḍa-ab-ti qa-tus su-un u-ba-hi-i va 24. sa
who had sought the good of their hands, and who



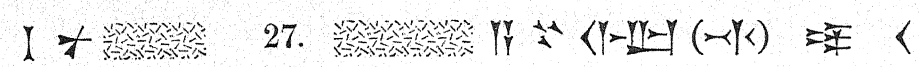
e-pu-su ṣu-nu-ti du-un-qu 25. va nisi
had given them favours; and the people



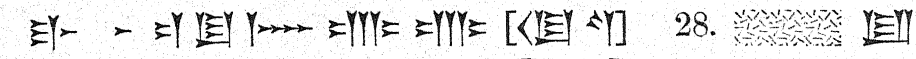
Ṣa-ai Bi-in-di-di Za-ha-nu
of Sais, Mendes, Zoan,



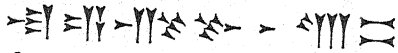
26. [va ṣi-it]-ti alani ma-la it-ti
[and] the rest of the cities, all with

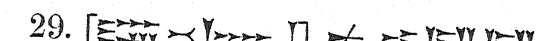


su-nu * * * 27. * * * a-mat limut-(ti) zaḫiri va
*them * * * * * * evil design. Small and*

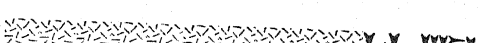


rabati ina kakki u-sam-[ki-tu] 28. * * * lu
*great with the sword they caused to be destroyed * * * *


la e - zi - bu ina lib - bi
did not leave in the midst.

29. 
[pagari su]-nu i - lu - lu
Their corpses they threw down


ina ga - si - si
in the dust,

30. 
* * * * * * - ḍu
* * * * * * *they*

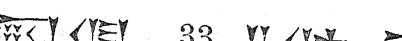

u - ḥal- li - bu dur ali
destroyed the towers of the cities.

31. 
ṣarani [an - nu]- ti
These kings, who


sa limut - [ti] is - te - ni - hu - u
had devised evil

33. 
a - na
against


ummani Assur bal - ḍu - (uṣ) - ṣu - nu a - na
the army of Assyria, alive to


Ninua
Nineveh

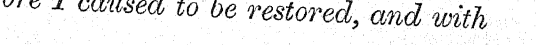
33. 
a- di maḥ - [ri] ya u - bil -u- ni
into my presence they brought.

34. 
a- na Ni - ku - u * * * * tu * * ri -su-nu
To Necho * * * * * * * * *of them,*

35. 
re - e - mu ar - si su va kit - ti * * * *
favour I granted him, and a covenant * * * *

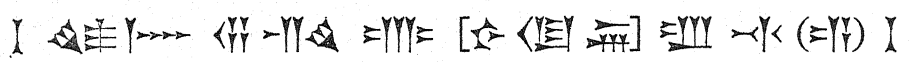
36. 
a - de - e eli sa maḥ - ri u - sa - tir va it - ti
observances stronger than before I caused to be restored, and with


su as - pur
him I sent.

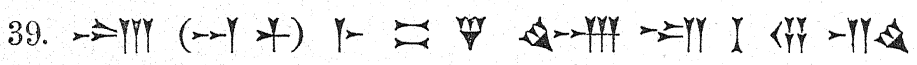
37. 
lu -bul - tu bir -mi u - lab - bi - su
Costly garments I placed upon him,



(va) al - lu ḫuraṣ 38. ṣi - mat ṣaru - ti su as - kun
ornaments of gold, his royal image I made for



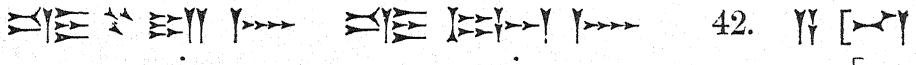
su semiri ḫuraṣ u - [rak- ki - ṣa] sangu- te - (e) su
him, rings of gold I fastened on his feet,



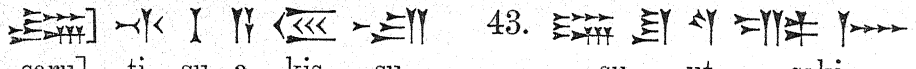
39. gir (parzil) sib - bi sa ah - zu su ḫuraṣ
a scimitar (of steel,) its sheath of gold,



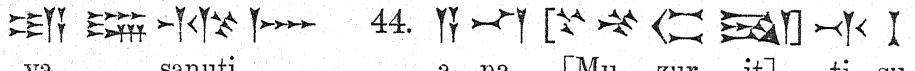
40. ni - bit sum ya * * * * * a - din su 41. ruqubi
*the glory of my name * * * * * I gave him. Chariots,*



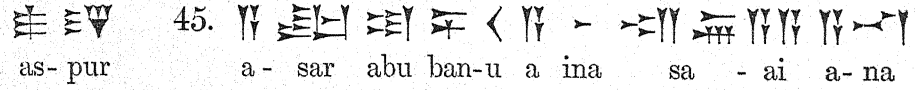
susi pari 42. a - [na
horses, and mules for his



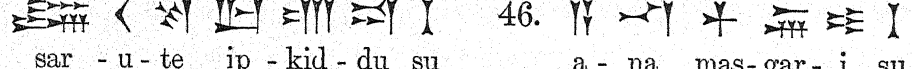
ṣaru] - ti su a - kiṣ - su 43. su -ut - saki
kingdom I appointed; my generals



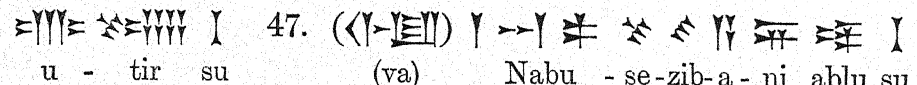
ya sanuti 44. a- na [Mu - ṣur it] - ti su
as governors, to [Egypt] with him I



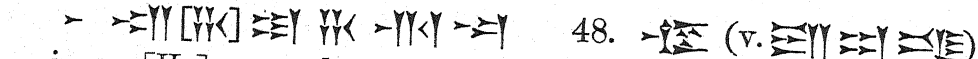
as- pur 45. a - sar abu ban-u a ina sa - ai a- na
sent. The place where the father my begetter, in Sais to



ṣar - u - te ip - kid - du su 46. a - na mas-gar - i su
the kingdom had appointed him, to his district I



u - tir su 47. (va) Nabu - se-zib-a - ni ablu su
restored him; (and) Neboshazban his son



ina [Ḥa] - at - ḥa - ri - ba
in *Athribes.*

48.

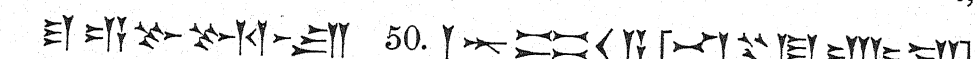
ḍabtu (v. ḍa - ab - tu)
Benefits and favours,



damqatu eli sa abi ba - ni ya
beyond [those] of the father my begetter,

49.

u - sa - tir
I caused to restore,



va e - pu - uṣ - ṣu
and gave to him.

50.

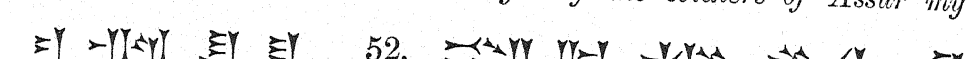
Tar - qu - u a [na Ku - u - ṣi]
Tirhakah to [Ethiopia]



in - nab - tu
fled;

51.

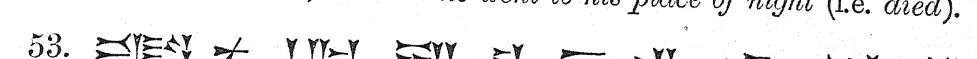
su - ru - bat kakki Assur bil ya
the might of the soldiers of Assur my



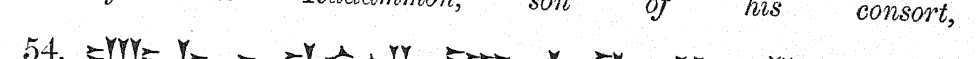
iṣ - ḥup su va
lord overwhelmed him, and

52.

il - lik simti mu - si su
he went to his place of night (i.e. *died*).

53. 

arka - nu Ur - da - ma - ne - e ablu bilati su
Afterwards Rudammon, son of his consort,



54. u - sib ina kuzzu ṣaru - ti su
sat on his royal throne.

55.

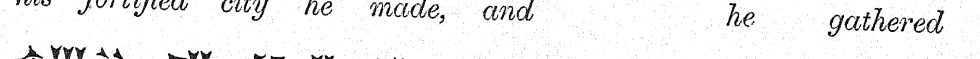
Ni - ha
Thebes



alu dan - nu - ti su is - kun
his fortified city he made, and

56.

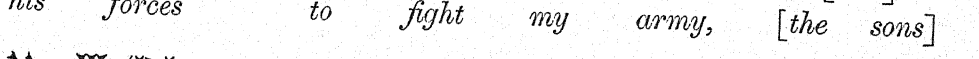
u - paḥ - ḥi - ra
he gathered



el - lat ṣu
his forces

57.

a - na mit - ḥu - ẓi ummani ya [abli]
to fight my army, [the sons]

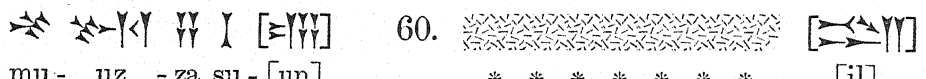


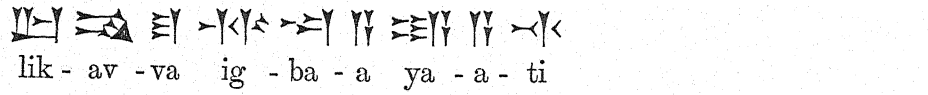
Assur
of Assyria;

58.

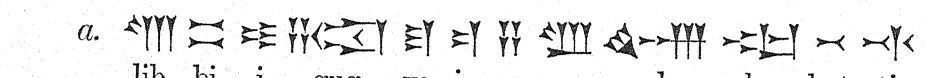
sa ki - rib Mi - im - pi it - ka - a
who within Memphis gathered in the

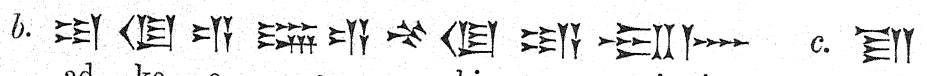

qa- bal [su] 59. * * * * va e - ṣi - ir va iz - ba - ta
midst of [it]. * * * * *and besieged and took*

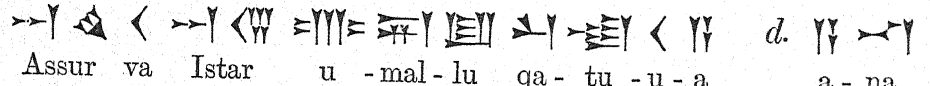

mu- uz -za su- [un] * * * * * * * [il] -
the whole of them. * * * * * * * *

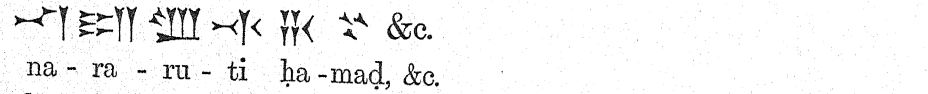

lik- av -va ig - ba - a ya - a - ti
came and told me.

Variant Passage, Cylinder B, Variant for Column I, Lines 65 to 77, Cylinder A.

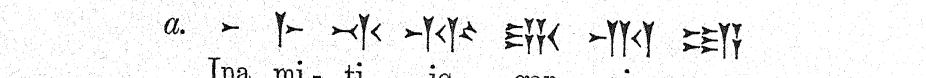
a. 
lib - bi i - gug va iz -za- ru - uḥ ka -bat- ti
My heart was bitter, and much afflicted.

b. 
ad - ke - e e - mu - ki ya ẓirati *c.* sa
I gathered my powerful forces, which


Assur va Istar u - mal - lu qa - tu - u - a *d.* a - na
Assur and Ishtar had placed in my hands. For

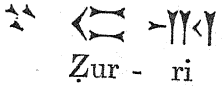

na - ra - ru - ti ḥa - maḍ, &c.
the restoration of, &c.

Additional Passage, Cylinder C, for Column I, Lines 70, 71, Cylinder A.

a. 
Ina mi - ti - iq gar - ri ya
In the course of my expedition

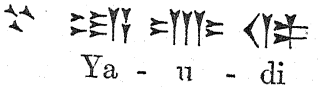
b. 
Ba - ha - al
Bahal


ṣar
king of


Ẓur - ri
Tyre,

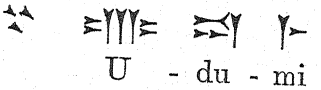
c. 


ṣar
king of


Ya - u - di
Judah,

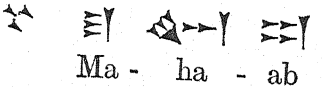
d. 


ṣar
king of


U - du - mi
Edom,

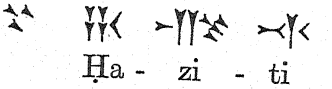
e. 

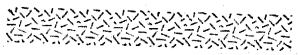

ṣar
king of


Ma - ha - ab
Moab,

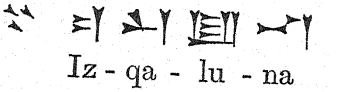
f. 

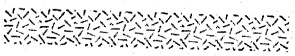

ṣar
king of


Ḥa - zi - ti
Gaza,

g. 

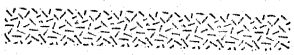

ṣar
king of


Iz - qa - lu - na
Askelon,

h. 

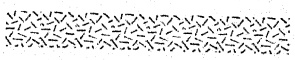

ṣar
king of


Av - gar - ru - na
Ekron,

i. 


ṣar
king of

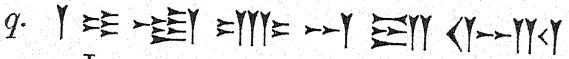

Gu - ub - li
Gebal,

j. 

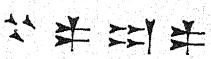

ṣar
king of


A - ru - a - di
Arvad,

Six lines (*k, l, m, n, o, p*) lost.

q. 
I - tu - u - an - da - ar
Ithu-ander


ṣar
king of


Pa - ap - pa
Paphos,

r. 

E - re - e - ṣu ṣar Ṣi - il - lu - u

Eresu *king of* *Soli,*

s. 

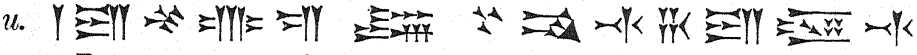
Da - ma - ṣu ṣar Ku - ri - i

Damastes *king of* *Curium,*

t. 

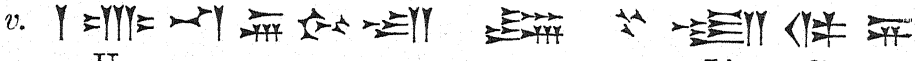
Rum - mi - ṣu ṣar Ta - mi - ẓi

Rummisu *king of* *Tamissus,*

u. 

Da - mu - u - ṣi ṣar Am - ti - ḥa - da - az - ti

Damusi *king of* *Ammochosta,*

v. 

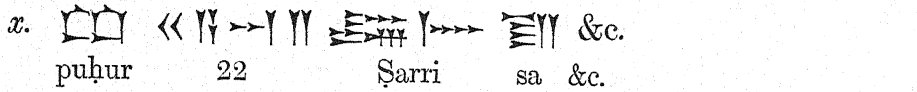
U - na - ṣa - gu - ṣu ṣar Li - di - ni

Unasagus *king of* *Lidini,*

w. 

Pu - ẓu - zu ṣar Up - ri - dis - sa

Puzuzu *king of* *Aphrodisia,*

x. 

puḫur 22 Ṣarri sa &c.

making 22 *kings of,* *&c.*

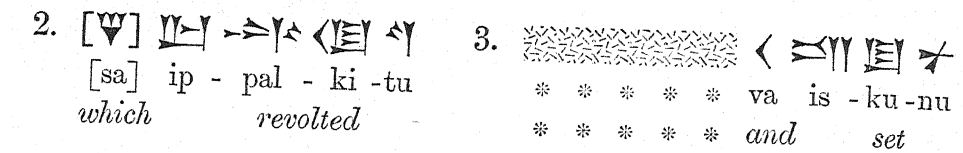
Cylinders B and C omit the last fourteen Egyptian kings, Column i, lines 98 to 111, Cylinder A.

Cylinder B, Column II, Lines 1 to 12, Variant Passage for Column II, Lines 25 to 50, Cylinder A.

1. 

Sa - ai Bi - in - di - di Za - ha - nu

Sais, *Mendes,* *and* *Zoan,*



2. [sa] ip - pal - ki -tu
which *revolted*

3. * * * * * va is - ku -nu
* * * * * *and* *set*

pi - i su- un
their *faces*

4. [it - ti su]- nu ak - su - ud
[*with*] *them,* *I* *took;*

5. [zaḥiri
[*small*

va rabati u] - sam - kit ina kakki
and great I caused] to be destroyed with the sword,

6. [pagari su- nu
[*their corpses*

ina ga] - si - si a - lul
in] the dust I threw down

7. * * * * * * [dur]
* * * * * *[the towers]

ali u -ḥal- lib
of the cities I destroyed.

8. [ṣarri an - nu - ti sa] ina
[*Those* *kings* *whom*] *in*

Mu - ṣur
Egypt

9. [as - ku - nu a - na] ṣar - u - ti
[*I had appointed to*] *the kingdoms,*

10. [sa
[*who*

limut - ti is - te - ni - hu - u a- na] abli Assur
devised *evil* *against*] *the* *sons* *of* *Assyria,*

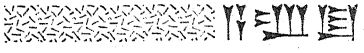
11. [aṣ -bat va ub - la] a - na Assur
[*I* *took* *and* *brought*] *to* *Assyria.*

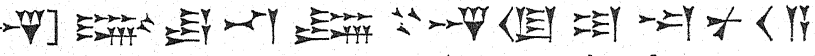
12. Tar - qu -u
Tirhakah

a - [na Ku -u - ṣi] in -nab- tu.
to [*Ethiopia*] *fled.*

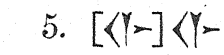
Fragment of Column I, Cylinder E.

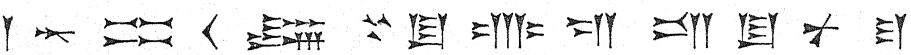
1. 
* * * * * ru-u- qu
* * * * * *remote*

2. 
* * * * * a- lak ku
* * * * * *I had gone.*

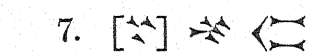
3. 
[Assur] aḥ - iddina ṣar Assur abu ba -nu-u a
Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the father my begetter,

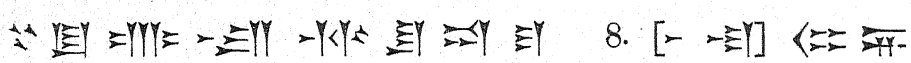
4. 
[ir] -du va il - li -ku ki - rib sa
had descended and gone into the midst of it;

5. 
abikta
the over-


Tar - qu - u ṣar Ku - u - ṣi is - ku - nu va
throw of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia he had accomplished, and

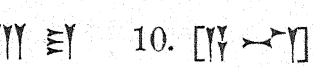
6. 
u -par- ri - ru el - lat ṣu
scattered his forces.

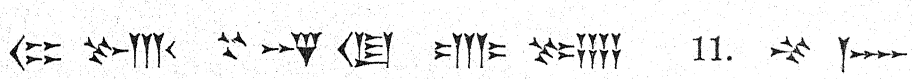
7. 
Mu - ṣur
Egypt and


Ku - u - ṣu ik - su - du va [ina la] me - ni
Ethiopia he had taken, and its innumerable


is - lu - la sal - la - aṣ ṣu [matu su] - a - tu ina
spoils he had carried off; that country, the

(v. 
(v. a - na) ṣi - hir - ti sa i - bi - luv - va [a - na]
whole of it, he took possession of, and to

10. 


me - ṣir Assur u - tir sumi
the borders of Assyria he added. *The former*


alani maḫ - ru - u - ti u - nak - kir va
names of the cities he abolished, and

12. 
[a - na] es - su - u - te is - ku - na ni - bi - iṣ ṣu - un
anew he appointed their names;

13. 
ardi su a - na ṣaru - ti san - u - ti
his servants to the kingdoms and governments

(v. 
(v. sa - nu - u - ti)

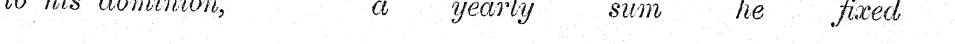
14.
[eli su] - nu - u - te
[over] them


u - pa - ki - da ina lib - bi
he appointed in the midst;

15.
bilat man - da - at - tu
taxes and tribute


bi - lu - ti su

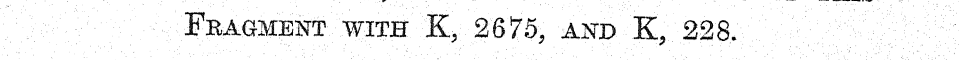
16.
[san - ti u - sam - ma] u - kin
to his dominion, a yearly sum he fixed

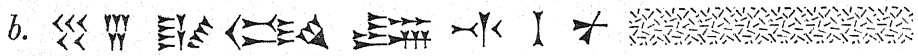

ṣi - ru - us - su - un

17.
* * * * as - li qaq - qu - ru
upon them; * * * * * * *ground*

18. 
* * * * * Me - em - pi
* * * * * *Memphis.*

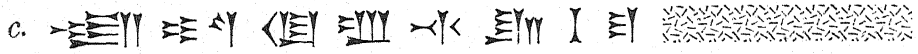
EXTRACT FROM K, 3083, WHICH CONNECTS LINE 15 OF THIS FRAGMENT WITH K, 2675, AND K, 228.

a. 
bilat man - da - at - tu bi - lu - ti * * * *
Taxes and tribute to [his] dominions * * * *

b. 

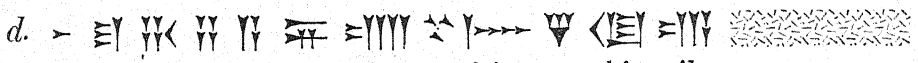
55 zalam ṣaru - ti su - nu * * * * * *

55 *of their royal statues* * * * * * *

c. 

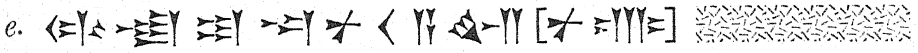
li - i - tu ki - sit - ti qati su va * * * * *

the glory acquired by his hands and * * * * *

d. 

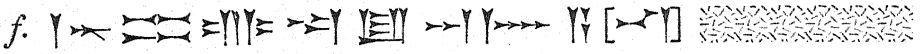
ina ma - ḥa - za - a - ni e - ziri sa ki - rib * * * *

in the cities and temples, which are in the midst * * * *

e. 

ul - tu abu ba - nu - u a im [nu - u] * * * *

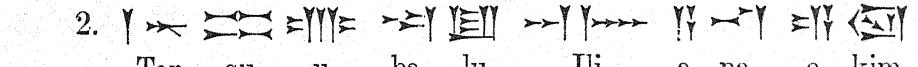
from the father my begetter revolted * * * *

f. 

Tar - qu - u ba - lu Ili a [na] * * * *

Tirhakah against the Gods to * * * *

K, 2675, AND K, 228. OBVERSE LINES 2 TO 69.

2. 

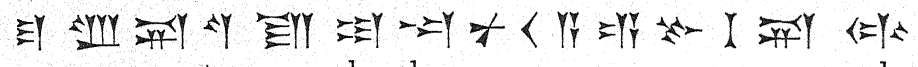
Tar - qu - u ba - lu Ili a - na e - kim

Tirhakah against the Gods, to capture



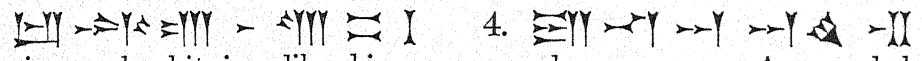
Mu - ṣur us - tam - za - a a - na da - [a - ki] 3. * * *

Egypt made a gathering to fight. The evil



ma - ru - us - tu sa abu ba - nu - u a e - pu - su - us ul

* * * *which the father my begetter had done him, he*



ip - pal - kit ina lib - bi su 4. da - na - an Assur bel

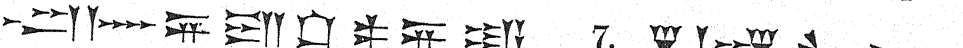
forgot not in his heart; the power of Assur my lord he

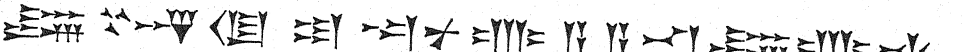

ya e - mi - is va it - ta - gil a - na e - muq
despised, and trusted to his own

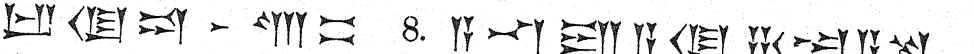

ra -ma- ni su 5. il - li -kan va ki - rib Mi - im - pi
might. He came and into Memphis


e - ru - uv -va alu su - a - tu u - tir ra -ma-nu su
he entered, and that city he restored to himself.

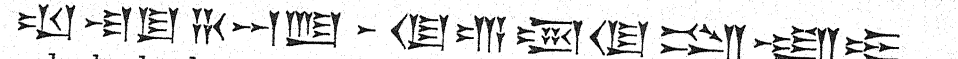

6. e - li nisi Assur sa ki - rib Mu - ṣur
Against the men of Assyria, who within Egypt


ardani da - gil pa - ni ya 7. sa Assur - aḥ - iddina
were tributaries dependent on me, whom Esarhaddon

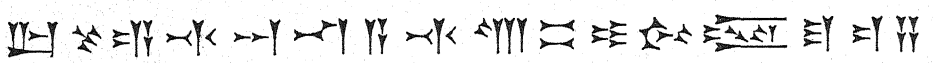

ṣar Assur abu ba -nu- u a a- na ṣar - u - ti
king of Assyria, the father my begetter, to the kingdoms had

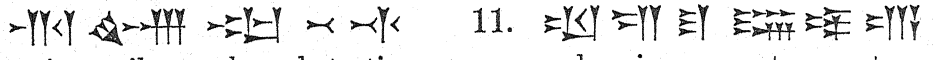

ip - ki - du ina lib - bi 8. a- na da - a- ki ḥa - ba - a - te
appointed in the midst [of it], to slay, plunder, and

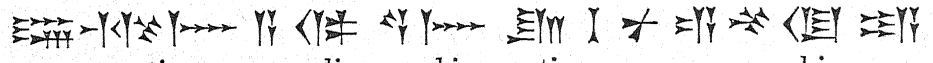

sa - la - a - li u - ma - he - e - ra um - man su
spoil he sent forth his army.

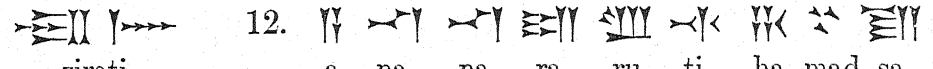

9. al - la -ku ḥa- an - ḍu ina ki - rib Ninua il - li - kan
I was walking round in the midst of Nineveh and one came

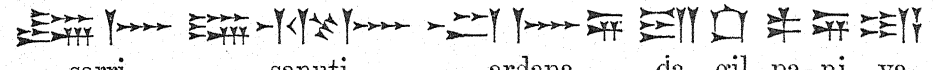

va u -sa - an - na - a ʾya - a - pi (v. si) 10. e - li
and repeated [this] to me, over

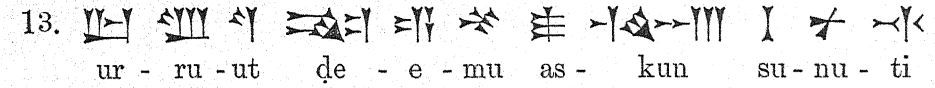

ip -se- e - ti an - na - a - ti lib - bi i - gu - ug va iz-za
these things my heart was bitter and much

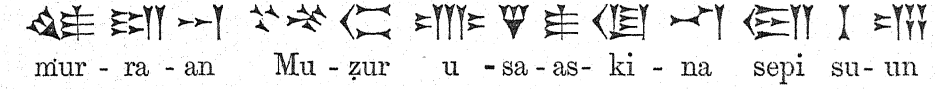

-ri - iḥ ka -bat- ti 11. al - si -ma tur -tan
afflicted. *I collected the tartan*

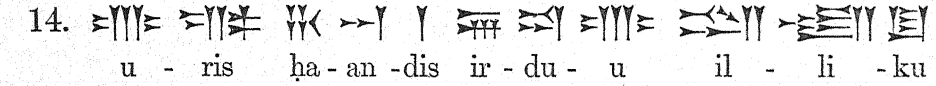

sanuti a - di ṣabi qati su-nu e -mu- ki ya
prefects and the troops in their hands, my powerful

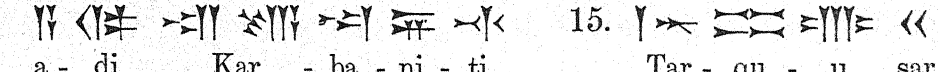

ṣirati 12. a - na na - ra - ru - ti ḥa -maḍ sa
forces, *for the restoration of the*

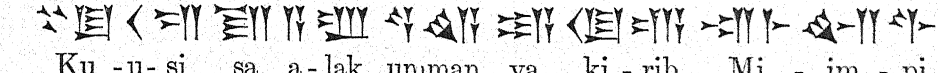

ṣarri sanuti ardana da -gil pa-ni ya
kings and prefects tributaries dependent on me;

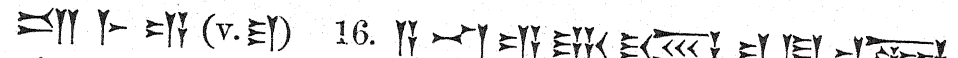

13. ur - ru -ut ḍe - e - mu as - kun su - nu - ti
an urgent command I gave them, the


mur - ra - an Mu - ṣur u -sa - as- ki - na sepi su- un
road to Egypt I caused their feet to take;


14. u - ris ḥa - an -dis ir - du - u il - li -ku
earnestly and joyfully they marched down and went


a - di Kar - ba - ni - ti 15. Tar - qu - u ṣar
to Karbanit. *Tirhakah king of*

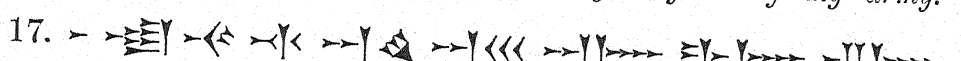

Ku -u- ṣi sa a - lak unman ya ki - rib Mi - im - pi
Ethiopia who, of the progress of my army in the midst of Memphis



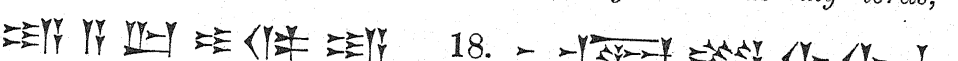
is - me- e (v. va) 16. a- na e - pis qabal kakku taḫaz
heard and to make war fighting, and battle he



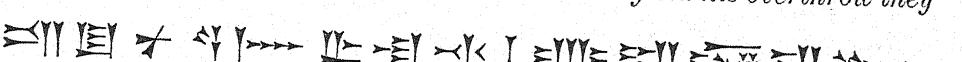
umman su id - ka - a iṣ - ḍi - ra me- eḫ - rit umman ya
gathered his army and set them in array in front of my army.



17. ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin Ili rabati beli
In the service of Assur, Sin and the great Gods my lords,



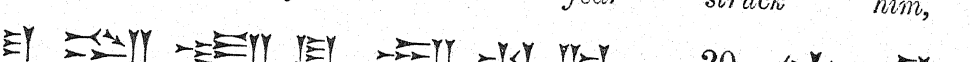
ya a - lik i - di ya 18. ina taḫaz ẓeri abikta su
who march before me; in the battle field his overthrow they



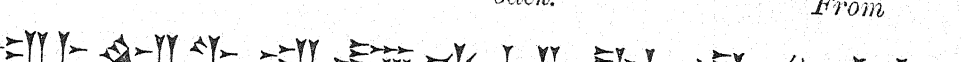
is - ku - nu zabi tug- la - ti su u - ra - aṣ - ṣi - bu ina
accomplished, his fighting men they destroyed with the



kakki 19. sa - a - su ḫat- tu pa - luḫ - tu im -kut ṣu
sword. Himself, terrible fear struck him,



va il - li - ku maḫ - ḫu - ur 20. ul - tu
and he went back. From



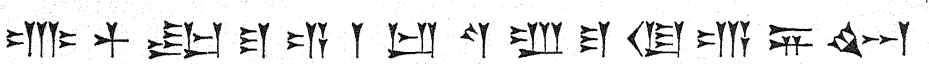
Mi - im - pi alu - ṣaru - ti su a - sar tu - gul - ti su
Memphis his capital city and his fortified place,



uẓ - ẓi va 21. a - na su - zu - b na - pis - ti su
he went out, and to save his life in a

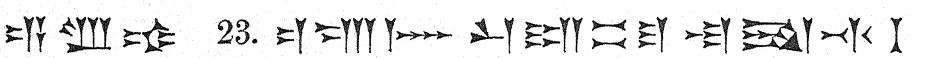


ki - rib elap ir - kip va 22. karaṣ ṣu
ship he sailed; his camp he



u -vas- sar va e -dis ip -par- sid va ki - rib Ni- ha

abandoned and fled alone, and into Thebes



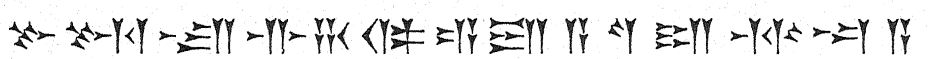
e - ru - ub 23. elappi qa - ra - bi ma- la it - ti su

he entered. All the ships of war with him,



ṣabi taḫaz u -ṣab- bi - tu ina qati 24. a - mir

the fighting men took in hand. A messenger



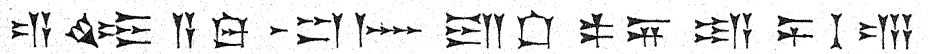
bu - uṣ - ṣu - rat ḫa- de - e - da - a ut - ra ig - ba - a

of good tidings hastily(?) returned, and



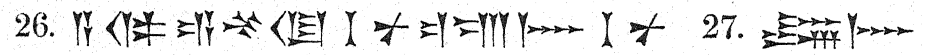
ya - a - si 25. rab - sak sanuti ṣarri

told me. The rabshakeh, prefects, and kings,



e - bir nar ardi da -gil pa - ni ya kali su- un

across the river, tributaries dependent on me all of them



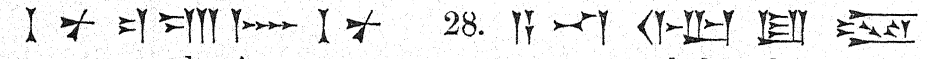
a- di e -mu- ki su-nu elappi su-nu 27. ṣarri

with their forces and their ships; the kings



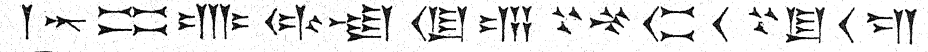
Mu - ṣur ardi da -gil pa- ni ya a- di e -mu- qi

of Egypt, tributaries dependent on me, with their forces



su-nu elappi su-nu 28. a - na hul - lu - uq

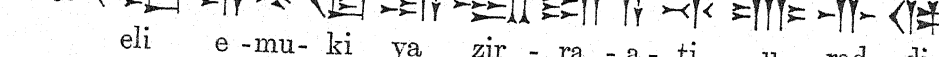
and their ships; to drive

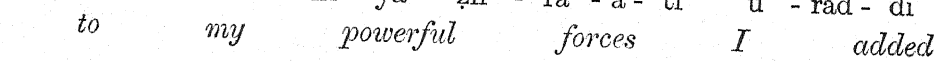


Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu - ṣur va Ku - u- ṣi

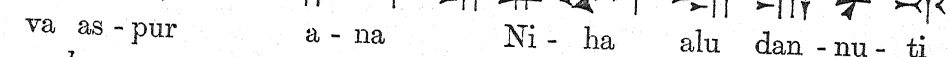
Tirhakah out of Egypt and Ethiopia,

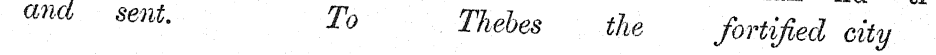

eli e-mu-ki ya ṣir-ra-a-ti u-rad-di
to my powerful forces I added

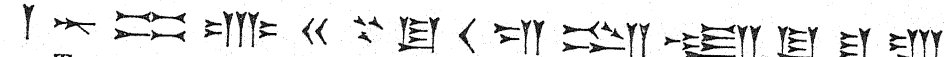

va as-pur 30. a-na Ni-ha alu dan-nu-ti
and sent. To Thebes the fortified city

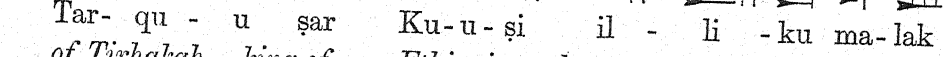

Tar-qu-u ṣar Ku-u-ṣi il-li-ku ma-lak
of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia they went, a journey of

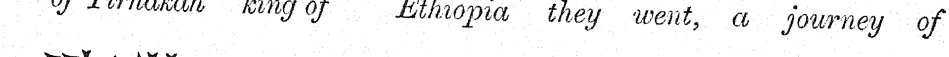

araḫ 10 immi 31. Tar-qu-u sa a-lak umman ya
one month and ten days. Tirhakah who of the progress of my army

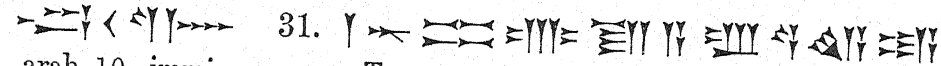

is-me-e Ni-ha alu dan-nu-ti su u-vas-sar
heard; Thebes his fortified city abandoned


va 32. Ya-ru-hu-u e-bir [ina mat]
and the Nile he crossed over; on the

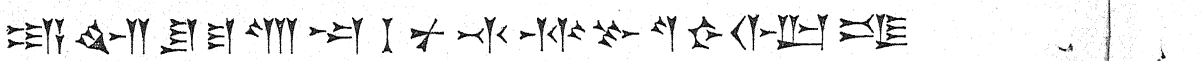

a-ḫe-en-na-a is-ku-na ma-dak-tu 33. Ni-ik-ku-u
opposite side he made a fortress. Necho,

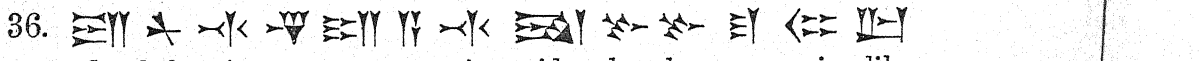

Ṣar-lu-da-ri Pa-aq-ru-ru ṣarri sa
Sarludari, and Paqruru, kings whom

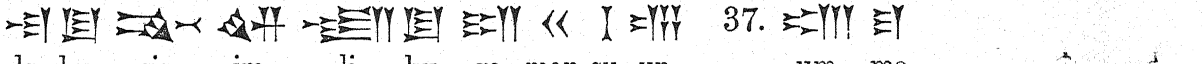

ki-rib Mu-ṣur is-ku-nu abu ba-nu-u a 34. a-de-e
in Egypt the father my begetter had made; the observances

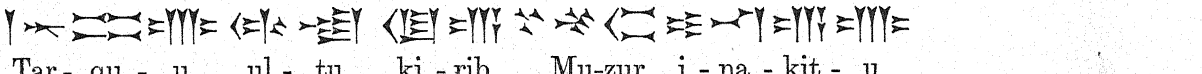

Assur va Ili rabati beli ya e-ti-ṭu-(u)
of Assur and the great Gods my lords, forsook.

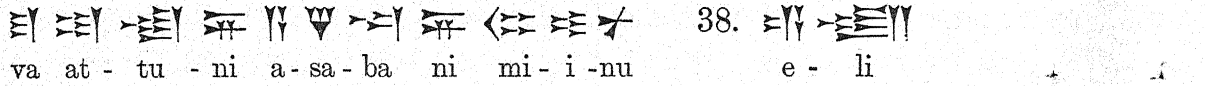

va ip - ru - ṣu ma-mit sun 35. ḍab - ti abi ba - ni
and broke their pledges; *the benefits of the father my*

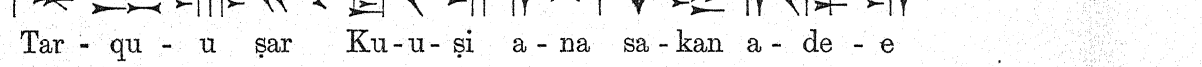

ya im - su va lib - ba su-nu- ti ik - bu - ud limut - tu
begetter they despised, and their hearts devised evil;

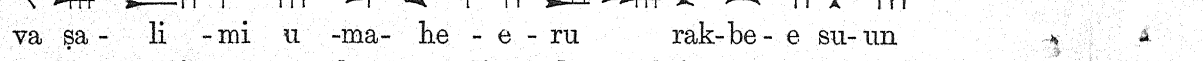

36. da -bab - ti sur- ra - a - ti id - bu - bu va mi - lik
seditious words they spoke, and evil

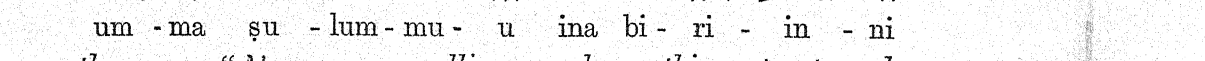

la ku - sir im - li - ku ra -man su- un 37. um - ma
council they counselled among themselves; *thus:*

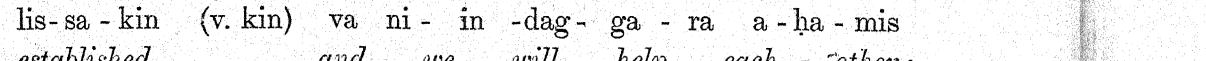

Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu-ṣur i - na - kit - u
"Tirhakah from the midst of Egypt is cut off,


va at - tu - ni a - sa - ba ni mi - i - nu 38. e - li
and to us our seats are numbered." *Unto*


Tar - qu - u ṣar Ku - u - ṣi a - na sa - kan a - de - e
Tirhakah king of Ethiopia to make agreement


va ṣa - li - mi u -ma- he - e - ru rak-be - e su-un
and alliance, they directed their messengers


39. um - ma ṣu - lum - mu - u ina bi - ri - in - ni
thus: *"May an alliance by this treaty be*


lis - sa - kin (v. kin) va ni - in -dag - ga - ra a - ḥa - mis
established, *and we will help each other;*

40. 

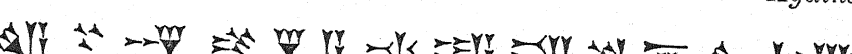
mat a-ḥe-en-na-a ni-zu-uz va ai ib-ba-si

the country on the other side we will strengthen, and let there not be



ina bi-ri-in-ni sa-nu-uv-va be-luv 41. a-na

in this treaty any other lord." Against



umman Assur gab-sa-a-ti ya is-te-ni-hu-u

the army of Assyria, my strength, they devised a



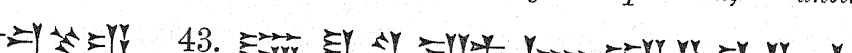
a-mat limut-ti 42. a-na su-zu-ub (v. na-bi)

wicked plot. To save



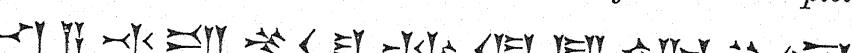
na-pis-ti su-un ik-ri-mu ḫul-lu-qu a-di

their lives being captured; they separated, until



la ba-se-e 43. su-ut-saki ya a-ma-a-ti

there were none [together]. My generals of this plot



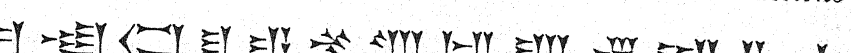
an-na-a-ti is-mu-u va ik-ki-lu nik-lat ṣun

heard, and concealed their plans;



44. rak-be-e su-un a-di sip-ra-a-ti su-nu

their messengers and their instructions



iẓ-ba-tu-niv-va e-mu-ru ip-sit sur-ra-a-ti

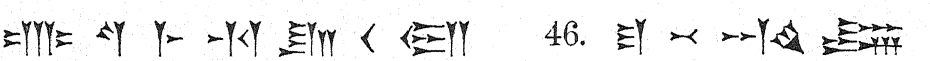
they captured, and saw their seditious

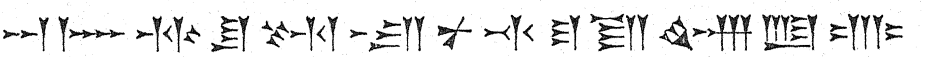


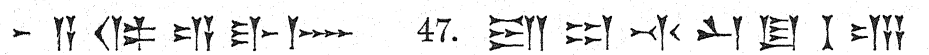
su-un 45. Ṣar-lu-da-ri Ni-ik-ku-u

work. Sarludari and Necho

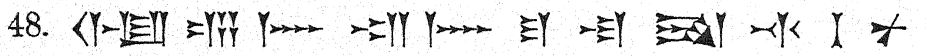

iẓ-bat-u-niv-va ina bi-ri-ti parzil(?) is-qa-ti parzil(?)
they took, and in bonds of iron and fetters of iron

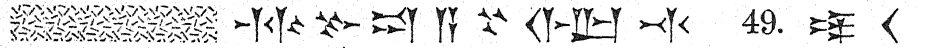

u-tam-mi-ḫu qati va niri 46. ma mit Assur ṣar
they bound their hands and feet. *The oath of Assur king*


Ili ik-su-uṣ-ṣu-nu-ti va sa iḫ-ḍu-u
of the Gods took them, who sinned

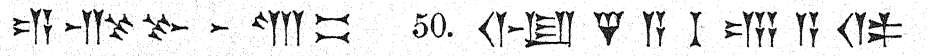

ina a-de-e rabati 47. ḍa-ab-ti qa-tus-su-un
against the great ones (i.e. *Gods*), *who had sought the good*

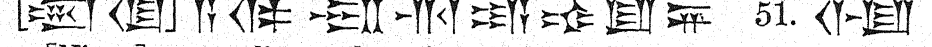

u-ba-hi-i va sa e-pu-su-ṣu-nu-ti du-un-qu
of their hands and who had given them favours;


48. va nisi alani ma-la it-ti su-nu
and the people of all the cities with them

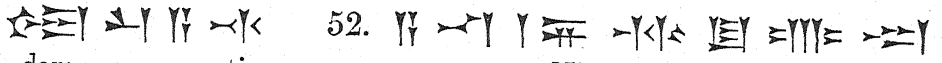

* * * * * ik-bu-du a-mat limut-ti 49. zaḫiri va
* * * * * *devised an evil design.* *Small and*

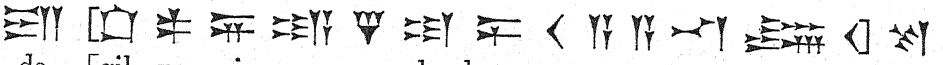

rabati ina kakki u-sam-[ki-tu] * * * * * la
great with the sword they destroyed * * * * * *did not*

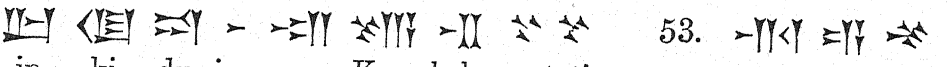

e-zi-bu ina lib-bi 50. va sa-a-su-un a-di
leave in the midst; *and them to*

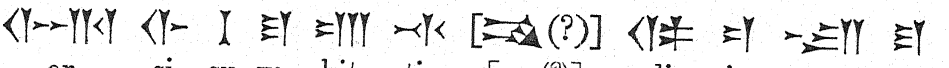

[Ninua] a-di maḫ-ri ya ub-lu-ni 51. va
[*Nineveh*] *to my presence they brought;* *and*

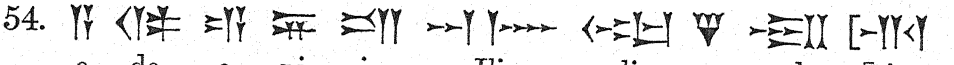

a - na - ku Assur - bani - pal * * * * * * mun - ṣa - aḥ
*I, Assurbanipal * * * * * * bestower of*

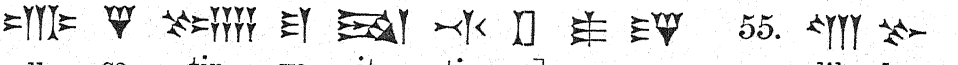

dam - qa - a - ti 52. a - na Ni - ik - ku - u arad
favours: to Necho the tributary

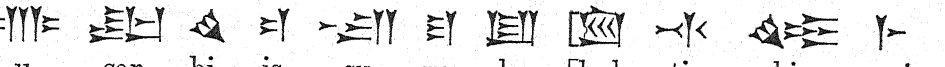

da - [gil pa - ni ya sa abu banu - u a a - na ṣar - u] - te
dependent [on me, whom the father my begetter to the kingdom]

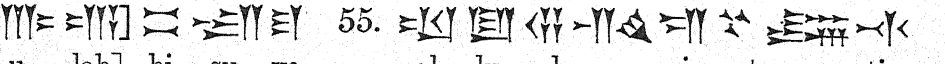

ip - ki - du ina Kar - belu - matati 53. re - e - mu
had appointed in Kar-belmatati. Favour I

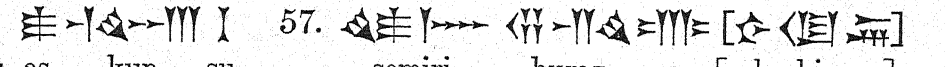

ar - si su va kit - ti [am(?)] di - iṣ - ṣu va
granted him, and a covenant I appointed him,


54. a - de - e ni - is Ili eli sa maḥ - [ri
the observances of the Gods stronger than before [I

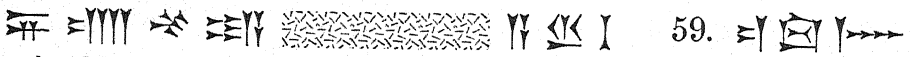

u - sa - tir va it - ti su] as - pur 55. lib - bu
caused to be restored, and with him] I sent. His heart

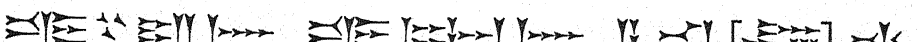

u - sar - ḥi - iṣ ṣu va lu - [bul - ti bir - mi
I caused to rejoice, and [costly] garments

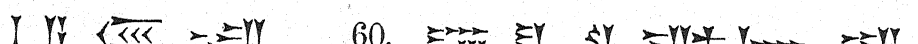

u - lab] - bi - ṣu va 55. al - lu ḥuraṣ ṣi - mat ṣaru - ti
I placed upon him, and ornaments of gold, his royal image


su as - kun su 57. semiri ḥuraṣ u - [rak - ki - ṣa]
I made for him, rings of gold I fastened on


sangu-ti su 58. gir sib-bi sa aḫ-zu su ḫuraṣ
his feet, *a scimitar, the sheath of which was gold,*

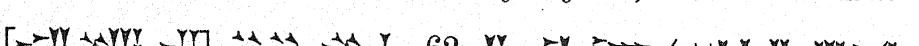

ni-bit sum ya * * * * * a-din su 59. ruqubi
the glory of my name * * * * * *I gave him.* *Chariots,*


susi pari a-na [ṣaru]-ti
horses, and mules for his kingdom


su a-kiṣ-ṣu 60. su-ut-saki ya
I appointed; *my generals as*

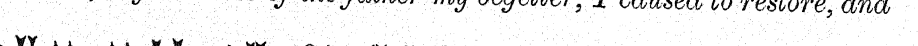

sanuti a-na [Mu-ṣur it]-ti su as-pur
governors to [Egypt] with him I sent.

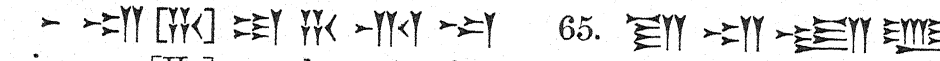

61. a-sar abu ban-u a ina Sa-ai sa
The place where the father my begetter, in Sais the name


[Kar-belu] matati sum su 62. a-na ṣar-u-te ip-kid-du
of which is Kar-belmatati; *to the kingdom had appointed*


su a-na mas-gan-i su u-tir su 63. ḍa-ab-tu
him, to his district I restored him. *Benefits and*


damqatu eli sa abi ba-ni ya u-sa-tir va
favours, beyond those of the father my begetter, I caused to restore, and

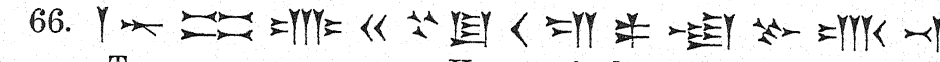

e-pu-uṣ ṣu 64. va Nabu-se-zib-an-ni ablu su
gave to him: *and Neboshazban his son*



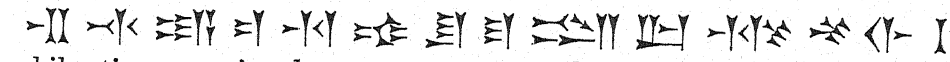
ina [Ḥa]-at-ḥa-ri-ba 65. sa Li-mir-
in *Athribes* *which* *Limir-*



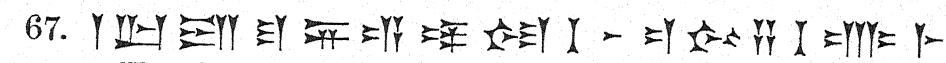
pa-te-ṣi-assur sum su a-na ṣar-u-te as-kun
patesi-Assur is its name; to the kingdom I appointed.



66. Tar-qu-u ṣar Ku-u-ṣi ḥat-tu pu-luḥ-ti
Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, terrible fear



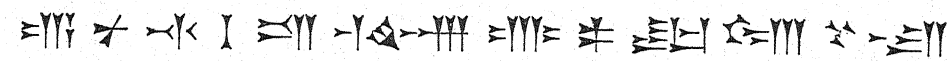
bil-ti ya iṣ-ḥu-up su va il-lik simti mu-si su
of my power overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night.



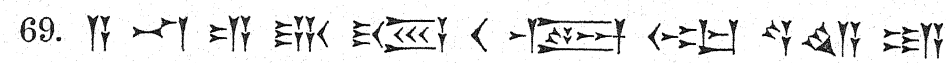
67. Ur-da-ma-ne-e ablu bilati su ina kuzzu su u-sib
Rudammon son of his consort, sat on his throne



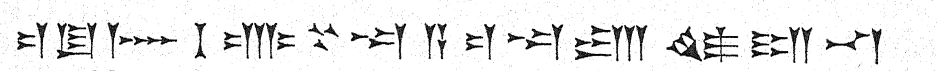
va u-ma-hi-ir ma-a-tu 68. Ni-ha a-na
and governed the country. *Thebes he*



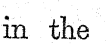
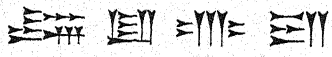
dan-nu-ti su is-kun u-pa-ḥir el-lat su
fortified for himself, and gathered his forces

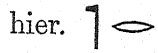
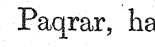
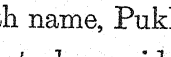
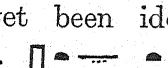
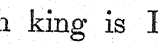
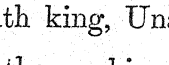
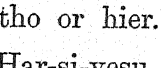
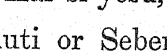
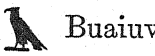
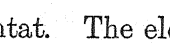
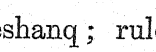
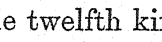
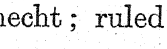
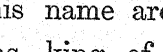
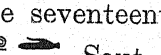
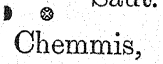


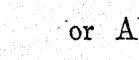
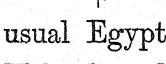
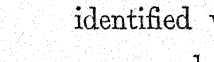
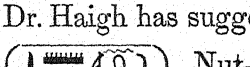
69. a-na e-pis qabal va tahaz eli umman ya
to make war and battle, against my army



kakki su u-sat-ba-a iẓ-ba-ta mur-ra-na
his soldiers he brought forward, and took the road.

The first expedition of Assurbanipal was directed against Muṣur, Heb. מִצְרַיִם (Egypt), and Kūṣu, Heb. כּוּשׁ Ethiopia. No name resembling Muṣur can be found in the hieroglyphics; but Kūṣu is the same as the Egyptian  Kuṣi. Kūṣu, or Kush, appears in the Assyrian inscriptions to include part of Upper Egypt as well as Ethiopia; for although Esarhaddon's conquests did not extend higher than Thebes, he is said to have conquered both Muzur and Kush. Cylinder A gives at the commencement Magan or Makan instead of Muzur, and Miluḫḫa instead of Kush. The name Magan for some land in this region is very ancient, but only known in the cuneiform inscriptions. Miluḫḫa has been thought to be the same as Meroe, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. During the first part of the reign of Esarhaddon Egypt and Ethiopia were under the rule of Tirhakah the  Tahārqā of the hieroglyphics, who was driven out of Egypt by Esarhaddon. The re-conquest of Egypt by Tirhakah, at the close of the reign of Esarhaddon, was the cause of the first expedition of Assurbanipal. Here the Assyrian inscriptions differ, some (as Cylinder A) giving the command of this expedition to Assurbanipal himself; others (K, 2675) recording that he sent a general in command of the army. The list of kings of Syria and Cyprus who submitted on the road is, so far as it is preserved, the same as that of Esarhaddon ("North British Review," No. 104, p. 328). The first city in Egypt mentioned in relation to this expedition is Karbanit. This is evidently an Assyrian name; and, as the city lay near the frontier, is possibly the name given by Esarhaddon to Pelusium. Here the battle took place, which once more gave the country to the Assyrians. On conquering Egypt, Assurbanipal restored the twenty kings who had been set up by Esarhaddon and dethroned by Tirhakah; the leader of these was Necho, hier.  Nekau, who was king of Mimpi, or Memphis, hier.  Mennefer, then the capital city, and Sai or Sais, hier.  Sai. The second king, Sarludari, was evidently an Assyrian, the name is a common one at this period, and is written in various ways; the full form is found on K, 31,  Ṣaru-lu-u-da-a-ru,

meaning "long live the king." Sarludari was king of Ẓihinu, which probably represents Pelusium, the Hebrew סִין, the modern Tineh. The third king was Pisan-huru, hier.  Pishen-hor, he was ruler of Naṯu, the island of Natho, hier.  Natru? The fourth king, Paqruru, hier.  Paqrar, had his seat at Pisabtu, hier.  Pi-supt. The fifth name, Pukkunannihapi, is evidently Egyptian, but has not yet been identified; he was king of Ḥaṯiribi, or Athribis, hier.  Ḥattaḥirab. The sixth king has likewise an unidentified Egyptian name, he ruled at Henins, Heb. חֲנֵס The seventh king is Pudu-bisti, or Petubastes, hier.  Petsibast; he ruled at Ẓahan, or Tanis, Hebrew צֹעַן, modern San. The eighth king, Unamuna, ruled at Naṯu, either another place called Natho or hier.  Ntahru (Dendera). The ninth name is Har-si-yesu, hieroglyphic  Hor-si-esi; he was king of Zabnuti or Sebennytus. The tenth name is Buaiva, hier.  Buaiuva; he ruled at Bindidi, or Mendes, hier.  Bentat. The eleventh king, Ṣuṣinq, or Shishak, hier.  Sheshanq; ruled at Busiru (Busiris), hier.  Pi-osiri-nebt. The twelfth king, Tap-naḥt, or Tnephachthus, hier.  Taf-necht; ruled at Bunubu, probably hier.  Bunbun. The thirteenth name, Pukkunannihapi, is the same as the fifth; his seat was at Aḥni, possibly Heracleopolis. The next king Ipti-ḥar-desu, ruled at Pizatti-hurunpiku. The fifteenth monarch has the name Naḥti-ḥuru-ansini; the first two elements in this name are equivalent to hier.  Necht-har; he was king of Pisabdinut. Bukur-ninip, the sixteenth king, was an Assyrian; he ruled at Paḥnuti. The position of the four last cities is doubtful, they were probably in Middle Egypt. Ẓiḥa, the seventeenth monarch, ruled at Siyaut, or Siyout, hier.  Saut. The next king, Lamintu, had his seat at Himuni or Chemmis, heir.  Ḥem-men. The nineteenth king was Ispi-maḍu of Taini, Thin,

or Abydos, hier.  Teni. The name of the last king, Manti-mi-anḥe, contains the Egyptian elements Muntu-mi-anche, but has not yet been found as a proper name; he was king of Niha, Heb. נֹא, Thebes; this name has not been found in hieroglyphics, the usual Egyptian names of Thebes being  Apt, and  Uab; but the Hebrew and Assyrian name for this city, resembles  Nahai, one of the names of Egypt. The narrative describes the intrigues carried on by these restored monarchs, led by Necho, Sarludari, and Paqruru, after the return of Assurbanipal to Nineveh, and their attempt to revolt, in conjunction with Tirhakah; the destruction of some of the cities, the captivity of Necho and Sarludari, and Tirhakah's death. The Egyptian inscriptions, and especially the Apis Stele, give us the reign of Tirhakah as immediately preceding that of Psammitichus (the son of Necho king of Sais). One Apis Stele gives us the following: "Year 20, 12th month, day 20, of the reign of Psammitichus, an apis died, and was buried in year 21, 2nd month, day 25; he was born year 26 of Tirhakah, and was enthroned in Memphis, 8th month, day 9, making 21 years." According to this tablet, there were about twenty-seven years between the accession of Tirhakah and that of Psammitichus. The successor of Tirhakah, called by the Assyrians Urdamane, has been identified with the Egyptian royal name  Rut-ammon; but another identification has been brought forward since; Dr. Haigh has suggested that Urdamane is the  Nut-mi-ammon, or Ammon-mi-nut, whose history as given on the stele discovered by M. Mariette in 1863, has a remarkable likeness to the Assyrian account of Urdamane. According to this tablet Nut-mi-ammon, when he came to the throne, had a dream, in which he saw two serpents, one on his right hand, the other on his left; and this dream was explained to him to mean that, as he possessed the south (Ethiopia), he should take the north (Egypt). He then set out at the head of his army, and marched to Elephantina; from there he went to Thebes, and from Thebes he approached Memphis. Here the chiefs of Lower Egypt disputed his advance; but, after defeating them, he entered the city in

triumph. While he stayed at Memphis, Paqrar, or Paqruru, the chief of Pi-supt, the leader of the rulers of Lower Egypt came and made submission to him.* Paqruru of Pisupt is evidently the fourth king in the Assyrian list, and the capture of Memphis by Ammon-mi-nut parallels the taking of Memphis by Urdamane. The cuneiform name of the Nile, Yaruhu, is the equivalent of the Hebrew יְאֹרָה. Exodus i, 22.

* A translation of this Stele by M. Maspero is given in "Revue Archeologique," Mai, 1868.

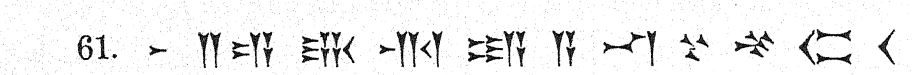
PART III.

The Second Egyptian War.

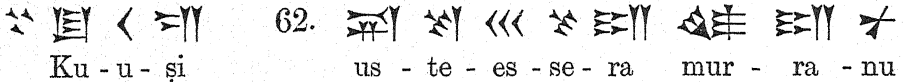
TEXTS.

There are only two texts of this part of the history; one is the text common to Cylinders A, B, and C, found on Cylinder A, col. ii, lines 61 to 83; the other is K, 2675, obverse line 70 to reverse line 5.

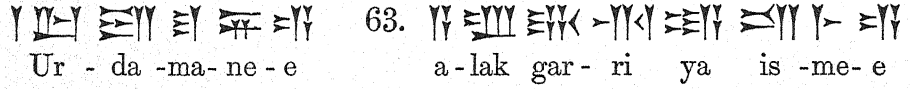
Cylinder A, Column II, Lines 61 to 83.



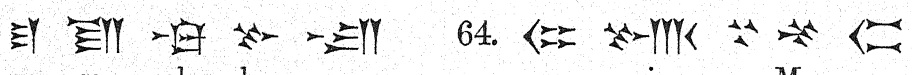
61. Ina sanute gar - ri ya a - na Mu - ṣur va
In my second expedition, to Egypt and



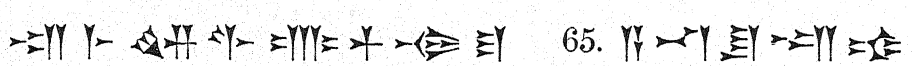
Ku - u - ṣi 62. us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu
Ethiopia I directed the march.



Ur - da -ma- ne - e 63. a - lak gar - ri ya is -me- e
Rudammon of the progress of my expedition heard,

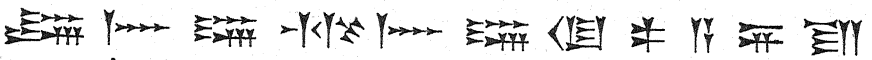


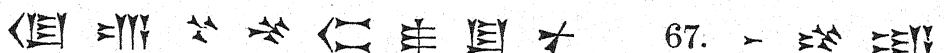
va sa ak - bu - ṣu 64. me - ṣir Mu - ṣur
and that I had crossed over the borders of Egypt.

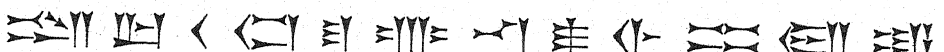


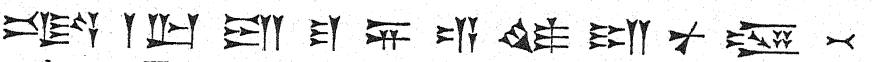
Mi- im - pi u -vas- sir va 65. a- na su - zu - ub
Memphis he abandoned, and to save his


napistisu in-na-bit a-na ki-rib Ni-ha
life he fled into Thebes.

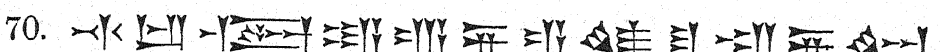
66. 
ṣarri sanuti ki-pa-a-ni sa
The kings, prefects, and governors, whom


ki-rib Mu-ṣur as-ku-nu 67. ina ṣati ya
in Egypt I had set up, to my presence


il-lik-u-niv-va u-na-as-si-qu sepi ya
came, and kissed my feet.

68. 
arku Ur-da-ma-ne-e mur-ra-nu aẓ-bat
After Rudammon the road I took;

69. 
al-lik a-di Ni-ha alu dan-nu-ti
I went to Thebes, the strong city;

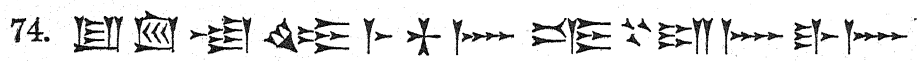
70. 
ti-ip taḫaz ya dan-ni e-mur va Ni-ha
the approach of my powerful army he saw, and Thebes


u-vas-sir 71. in-na-bit a-na Ki-ip-ki-pi
he abandoned, and fled to Kipkip.

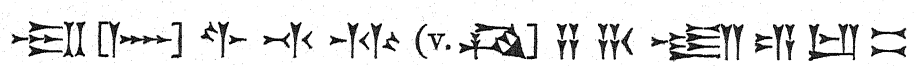

alu su-a-tu 72. a-na ṣi-ḥir-ti su ina tugulti
That city (Thebes) the whole of it, in the service of


Assur va Istar ik-su-da qata ai 73. kasap ḫuraẓ
Assur and Ishtar my hands took; silver, gold,


ni-sik-ti abni sa-su e-kal su ma-la ba-su-u
precious stones, the furniture of his palace, all there was;

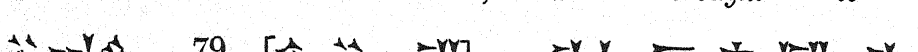
74. 
lu-bul-tu bir-mi kitui susi rabati
garments costly and beautiful(?), great horses,

75. 
nisi zik-ra va sin-nis 76. 2 tim-mi
people male and female, two lofty


ṣirati pi-ti-ig (v. tig) za-ḫa-le-e ib-bi
obelisks covered with beautiful carving,

77. 
* * 100 bilati paṣaḥ su-nu man-za-az bab ezar
* * *hundred talents their weight, set up before the gate of a temple,*

78. 
[it]-ti su-nu aṣ-ṣuḥ va al-qa-a a-na
with them I removed, and brought to


Assur 79. [sal-lat ṣu] ina la mi-ni as-lu-la
Assyria. [*Its spoils*] *unnumbered I carried off.*

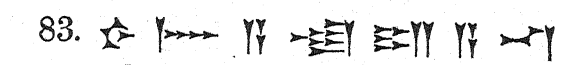

al-tu ki-rib Ni-ha 80. [eli
From the midst of Thebes, over


Mu-ṣur] Ku-u-ṣi 81. kakki ya
Egypt and Ethiopia; my servants I

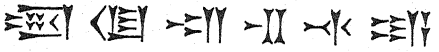

[u]-sam-ri-ir va 82. [as-tak]-kan li-i-tu
caused to march, and I acquired glory.



it - ti ma- da - te
With the tributes

83. 

sal - mis a - tu - ra a - na
peacefully I returned to

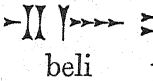


Ninua alu bilu- ti ya
Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

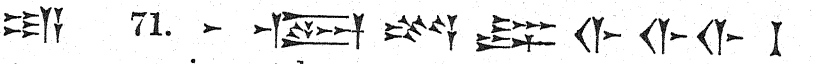
K, 2675, OBVERSE LINE 70 TO REVERSE LINE 5.

70. 

Ina tu -gul- ti Assur Sin va Ili rabati
In the service of Assur, Sin, and the great Gods



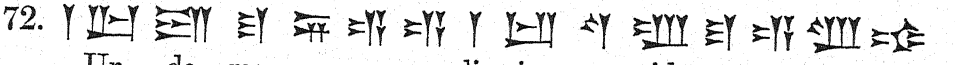
beli ya

71. 

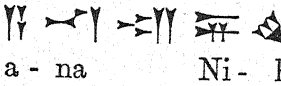
ina taḫaz ṣer rap - si abikta su
my lords; in the wide battle field his overthrow they



is - ku - nu u - par - ri - ru el - lat ṣu
accomplished, and dispersed his forces.

72. 

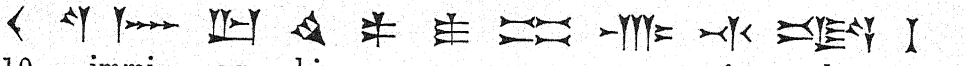
Ur - da - ma - ne - e e -dis ip - par - sid va e - ru - ub
Rudammon fled alone, and entered



a - na Ni - ha alu ṣaru - ti su

73. 

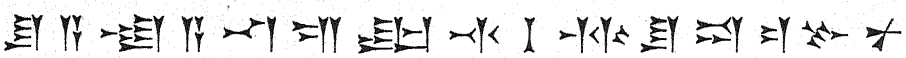
ma - lak araḫ
into Thebes, his capital city. A journey of a month

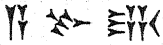


10 immi ur - ḫi pa - as - qu - u - ti arku su
and ten days on a difficult road, after him

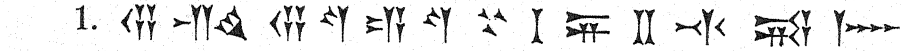


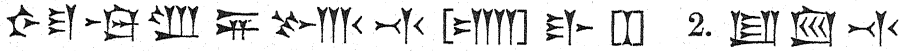
il - li - ku a - di ki - rib Ni - ha alu
they went, to the midst of Thebes. That city,

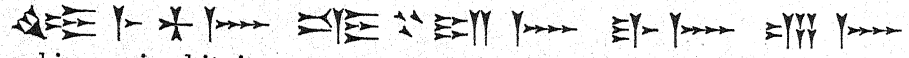

su - a - tu a - na ṣi - ḥir - ti su ik - su - du iṣ - pu - nu
the whole of it they took, and swept


a - bu - bis
like a storm.

REVERSE.

1. 
Ḥuraẓ kasap e -par mat su ni -sik- ti abni
Gold and silver, the dust of his country, precious stones,

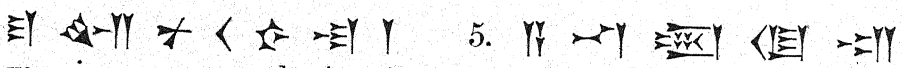

ma - ak - ru ni - sir - ti [e -] kal [su] 2. lu - bul - ti
valuables(?) treasures of his palace, garments

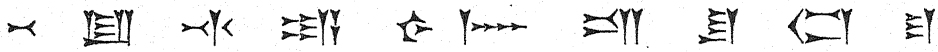

bir - mi kitui susi rabati nisi
costly and beautiful(?), great horses, people


zikir va sinnis * * * * za - a - ti pa - ge - e
male and female, bazati(?) page and


u - qu - pi tar - bit sad - di su un ina la mi - ni
uqupi, the products of their mountains, without number,

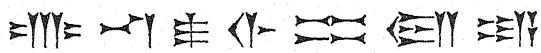

a - na mu - hu - de - e ultu ki - rib - e su u - se - ẓu - niv
in abundance from the country they brought out


va im - nu u sal - la - tis a - na Ninua alu
and counted as spoil. To Nineveh, the city



bi - lu - ti ya sal - mis is - su - niv - va

of my dominion, peacefully they came up, and



u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya

kissed my feet.

In the two versions of the second Egyptian war there is the same difference as that noticed in the former part. One narrative (Cylinder A) representing Assurbanipal as invading Egypt a second time, and driving out Urdamane; while K, 2675, represents Urdamane to have been defeated and expelled by the Assyrian forces in Egypt.

PART IV.

The Siege of Tyre and the Affairs of Lydia.

TEXTS.

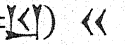
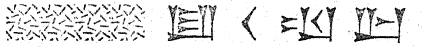
The two principal texts of the Tyrian campaign (Cylinders A and B) only differ in the earlier part by Cylinder B introducing two clauses not found in Cylinder A; these are marked in parentheses (*b*, &c.). The latter part of this division in Cylinder B is sufficiently different to be given separately. The texts will then be Cylinder A, col. ii, line 84, to col. iii, line 42 (the clauses introduced in Cylinder B being in lines 86 and 87), Cylinder B, col. ii, line 54, to col. iii, line 4, K, 2675, reverse lines 13 to 31, and a fragment of Cylinder E.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINE 84, TO COLUMN III, LINE 42.

84. 

[Ina salsi gar - ri] ya eli Ba - ha - li

[In] my [third expedition] against Bahal

(v. )  85. 

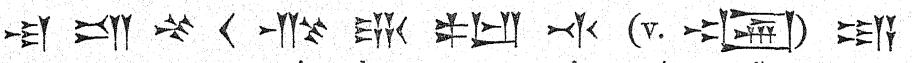
(v. al) ṣar Ẓur - ri * * * lu - u al - lik

*king of Tyre * * * I went;*



as -su (v. sa) a - mat ṣaru - ti ya 86. la iẓ - ẓu - ru

who my royal will disregarded and



la is - mu - u zi - kar sap - ti (v. sapti) ya

did not hear the words of my lips;

87. 

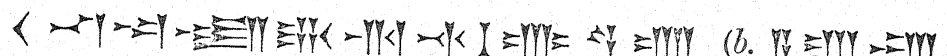
ḫal- ẓu - ti eli su u -rak-kiṣ (*b.* * * - le - e

*towers round him I raised; (b. * * his*



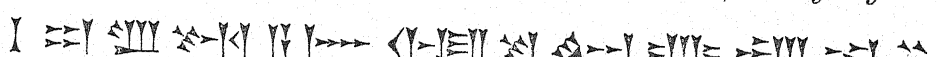
nisi su u -dan- nin ma - zir - tu) ina tam- ti

people, I strengthened, the watch) on sea



va na - ba - li gar- ri - ti su u -ẓab- bit (*b.* a- lak - ta

and land; his roads I took; (b. his going out



su ab - ru - uz me va te - hu - u - ta ba - laḳ

I stopped, water and sea water to preserve



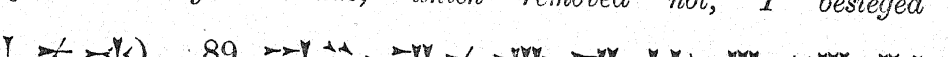
napisti su - nu a - na pi i su - nu u - sa - ki - ir

their lives their mouths drank;



ina mi- ṣi - ri dan - ni sa la na -par- su - di e - ṣi - ir

by a strong blockade, which removed not, I besieged



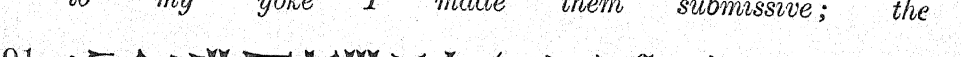
su- nu- ti) nap-sat ṣu - nu u - ṣi iq u - tir - ri

them); their spirits I humbled and caused to melt away;



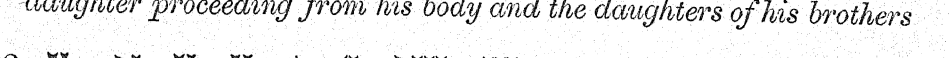
a - na niri ya u - sak - ni - iṣ ṣu -nu- ti

to my yoke I made them submissive; the



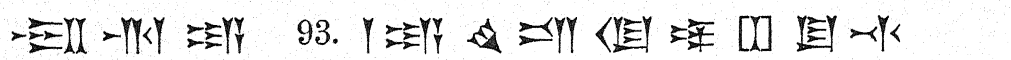
bintu ẓi - it lib - bi su va binti aḫi su

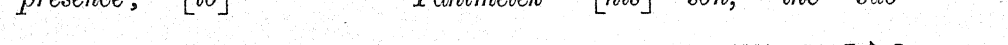
daughter proceeding from his body and the daughters of his brothers

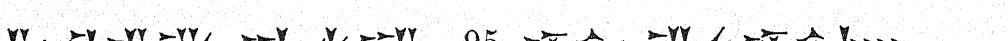


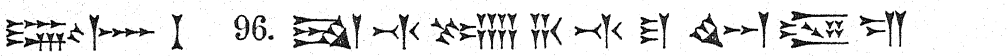
a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti u - bi - la a - di

for concubines he brought to my

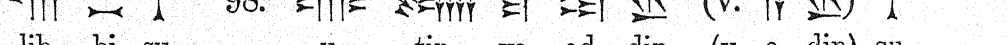

maḥ - ri ya 93. Ya - ḥi - mil - ki ablu [su] tugulti(?)
presence; [to] *Yahimelek [his] son, the sub-*


ma - ti si - mat la e - bi - ra 94. is - te - nis u - sat - [gil]
mission of the country and an unequalled present(?) at once he entrusted,


a - na e - pis ardu - ti - ya 95. binat ṣu va binti
to make obeisance to me. *His daughter and the daughters*

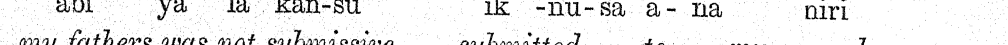

aḥi su 96. it - ti tir - ḥa - ti ma - ha - aṣ - ṣi
of his brothers, *with their great dowries, I*

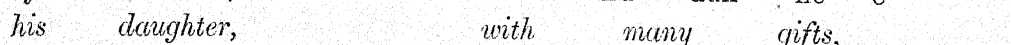

am - ḥar su 97. re - e - mu ar - si su va ablu ṣi - it
received. *Favour I granted him, and the son proceeding*

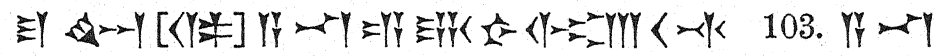

lib - bi su 98. u - tir va ad - din (v. a - din) su
from his body *I restored and gave him.*


Ya - ki - in - lu - u 99. ṣar A - ru - ad - da
Yakinlu *king of Arvad,*

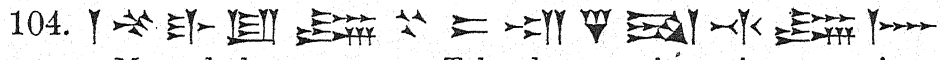

a - sib qabal tam - ti 100. sa a - na ṣarri
dwelling in the midst of the sea, *who to the kings*

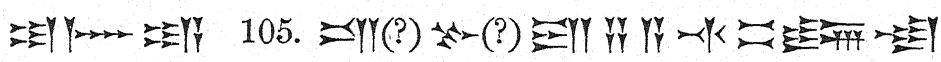

abi ya la kan - su 101. ik - nu - sa a - na niri
my fathers was not submissive, *submitted to my yoke,*

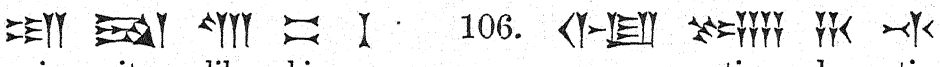

ya binat ṣu. 102. it - ti nu - dun - ne - e
his daughter, *with many gifts,*

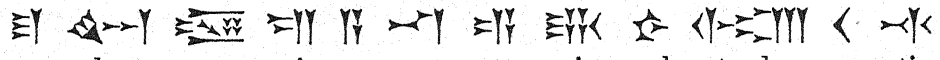

ma- ha - [di] a - na e - pis sal tuglu -u- ti 103. a - na
for *a* *concubine* *to*

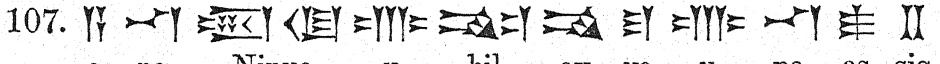

Ninua u - bil - av -va u - na - as -siq sepi ya
Nineveh *he* *brought,* *and* *kissed* *my* *feet.*

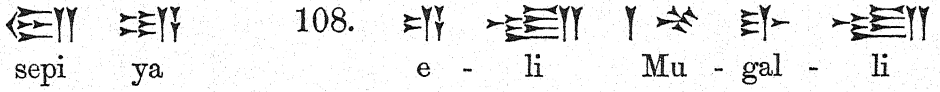

104. Mu-gal - lu ṣar Tab- alu sa it - ti ṣarri
Mugallu *king of* *Tubal,* *who* *against* *the* *kings*

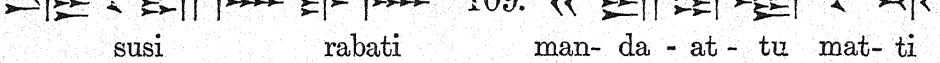

abi ya is(?) pu(?) 105. da -za-a- ti bi - in - tu
my *fathers* *made(?)* *depredations,* *the* *daughter*

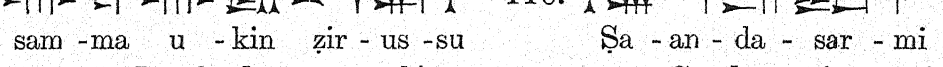

ṣi - it lib - bi su 106. va tir - ḫa - ti
proceeding *from* *his* *body,* *and* *her* *great*


ma- ha - aṣ - ṣi a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti
dowry, *for* *a* *concubine*


107. a - na Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as - siq
to *Nineveh* *he* *brought,* *and* *kissed*


sepi ya 108. e - li Mu - gal - li
my *feet.* *Over* *Mugallu*

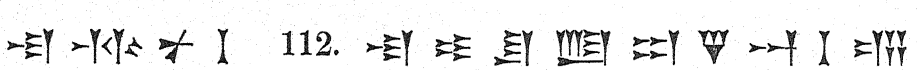

susi rabati 109. man- da - at - tu mat- ti
great *horses* *and* *the tribute of the country the*


sam -ma u - kin ṣir - us -su 110. Ṣa - an - da - sar - mi
sum *I* *fixed* *upon* *him.* *Sandasarmi* *of*



Ḥi-lak-ka-ai 111. sa a-na ṣarri abi ya

Cilicia, *who to the kings my fathers*



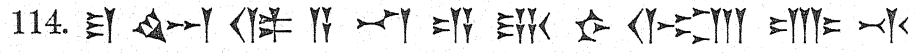
la ik-nu-su 112. la i-su-ḍu ab-sa-an su-un

did not submit, *and did not perform their pleasure,*



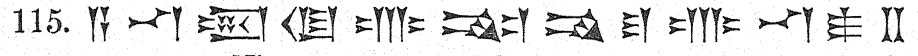
113. bintu ṣi-it lib-bi su it-ti nu-dun-ne-e

the daughter proceeding from his body, with many



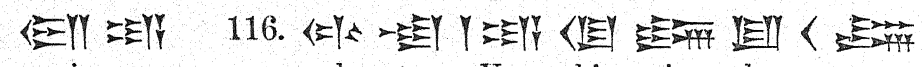
114. ma-ha-di a-na e-pis sal-tuglu-u-ti

gifts, for a concubine



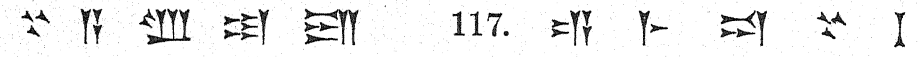
115. a-na Ninua u-bil-av-va u-na-as-siq

to Nineveh he brought, and kissed



sepi ya 116. ul-tu Ya-ki-in-lu-u ṣar

my feet. *From Yakinlu king of*



A-ru-ad-da 117. e-mi-du mata su

Arvad, *I took away his country.*



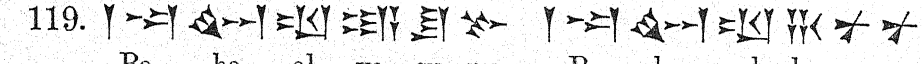
A-zi-ba-ha-al A-bi-ba-ha-al

Azibahal, *Abibahal,*



118. A-du-ni-ba-al Ṣa-pa-di-ba-al Pu-di-ba-al

Adonibahal, *Sapadibahal,* *Pudibahal,*



119. Ba-ha-al-ya-su-pu Ba-ha-al-ḥa-nu-nu

Bahalyasup, *Bahalhanun,*

120. 

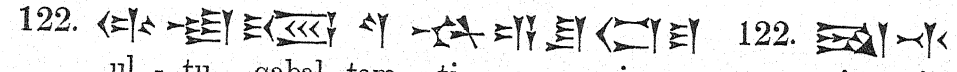
Ba - ha - al -ma- ln - ku A - bi - mil - ki A - ḫi - mil - ki

Bahalmaluk, Abimelek, and Ahimelek,

121. 

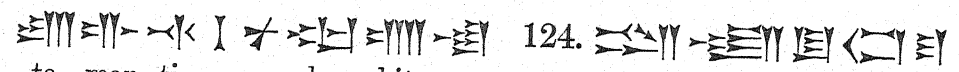
abli Ya - ki - in - lu -u a - sib qabal tam- ti

sons of Yakinlu, dwelling in the midst

122. 

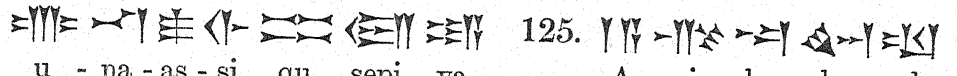
ul - tu qabal tam- ti e -su - niv -va 122. it - ti

of the sea, from the midst of the sea arose, and with



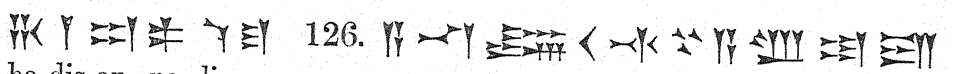
ta - mar- ti su-nu ka - bit - tu 124. il - li -ku- niv -va

their numerous presents came and



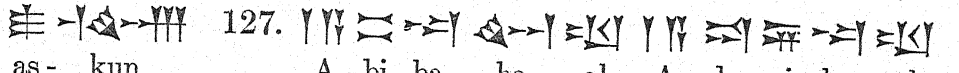
u - na - as - si qu sepi ya 125. A - zi - ba - ha - al

kissed my feet. Azibahal



ha-dis ap - pa - lis va 126. a - na ṣar -u- ti A- ru - ad - da

gladly I received, and to the kingdom of Arvad



as - kun 127. A - bi - ba - ha - al A - du - ni - ba - al

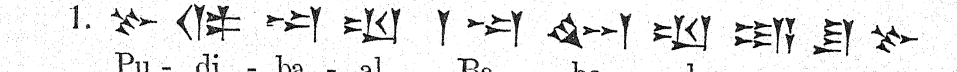
appointed. Abibahal, Adonibahal,



Ṣa - pa - di - ba - al

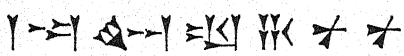
Sapadibahal,

Column III.

1. 

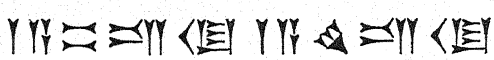
Pu - di - ba - al Ba - ha - al - ya - su - pu

Pudibahal, Bahalyasup,



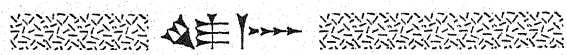
Ba - ha - al - ḥa - nu - nu 2. Ba - ha - al - ma - lu - ku

Bahalhanon, *Bahalmaluk,*



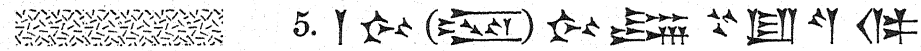
A - bi - mil - ki A - ḥi - mil - ki lu - bul - ti bir - mi

Abimelek, and Ahimelek; *costly clothing*



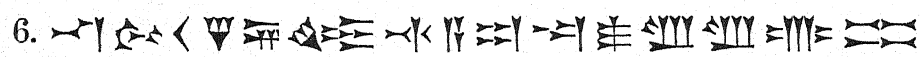
* * * * semiri * * * * * * ina maḥ - ri ya

* * * * *rings* * * * * * * *in my presence*



* * * * * Gu - (ug) - gu ṣar Lu - ud - di

* * * * * *Gyges king of Lydia,*



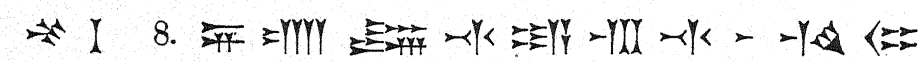
na - gu - u sa ni - bir - ti ab - ba as - ru ru - u - qu

a district which is across the sea, a remote place,



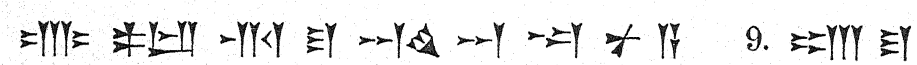
sa ṣarri abi ya la is - mu - u zik - ri

of which the kings my fathers had not heard speak of



sum su 8. ni - bit ṣaru - ti ya kap - ti ina suttu

its name. The account of my grand kingdom



u - ṣap - ri va Assur Ilu ba - nu a 9. um - ma

in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator, thus:



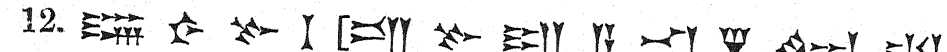
nir * * * * * * * * * 10. (sum ma) ina zi - kar

"*The yoke* * * * * * * * * (*when*) *in remembrance*



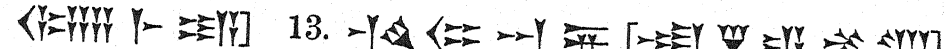
* * * * * * 11 im - mu suttu [an - ni - tu e - mu - ru]

* * * * * * *the day* [*he saw that*] *dream,*

12. 

rak - bu su [is - pu - ra a - na sa - ha - al

his messenger [he sent, to pray for



salim - mi ya] suttu an - ni - [tu sa e - mu - ru]

my friendship]. That dream [which he saw],

14. 

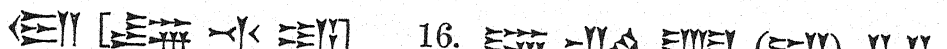
ina qati a - mir su is - pur - av - va u - sa - an -

by the hand of his envoy he sent, and repeated



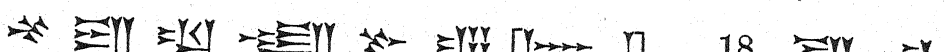
[na ya - a - ti] ul - tu lib - bi im - mi sa iṣ - ba - tu

[to me]. From the midst of the day when he took the



niru [ṣaru - ti ya] Gi - mir - (ra) - ai

yoke of [my kingdom], the Cimmerians,



mu - da - al - li - pu nisi [su] sa la

wasters of [his] people, who did not



ip - tal - la - ḫu abi ya va at - tu - u - a

fear my fathers and me, and



la iṣ - ba - tu niru ṣaru - ti ya ik - su - ud ina

did not take the yoke of my kingdom, he captured, in



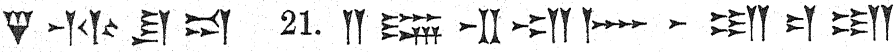
tugul - ti Assur va Istar Ili beli ya ul - tu

the service of Assur and Ishtar the Gods my lords. From the



lib - (bi) niri sa Gi - mir - (ra) - ai

midst of the chiefs of the Cimmerians,



sa ik - su - du 21. 2 niri ina ṣi - iṣ - ṣi

whom he had taken, two chiefs in strong fetters



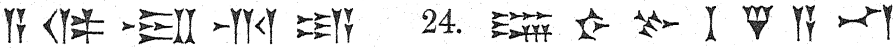
is - qa - ti parzil bi - ri - ti parzil 22. u - tam - mi - iḥ

of iron, and bonds of iron, he bound,



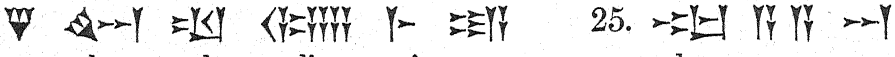
va it - ti ta - mar - ti su ka - bit - ti 23. u - se - bi - la

and with numerous presents, he caused



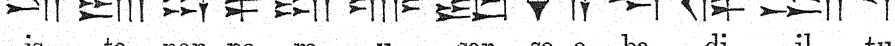
a - di maḥ - ri ya 24. rak - bu su sa a - na

to bring to my presence. His messengers whom, to



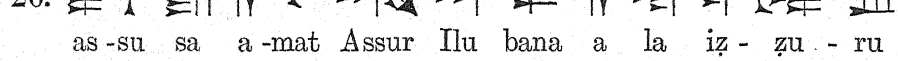
sa - ha - al salim - mi ya 25. ka - ay - an

pray for my friendship he was



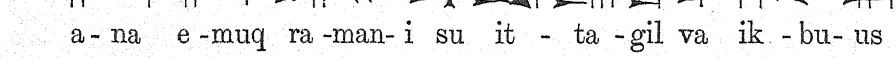
is - ta - nap - pa - ra u - sar - sa - a ba - di - il - tu

constantly sending, he wilfully discontinued;



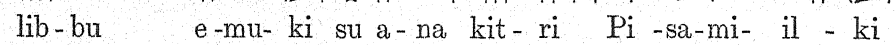
26. as - su sa a - mat Assur Ilu bana a la iṣ - ṣu - ru

as the will of Assur, the God my creator, he had disregarded;



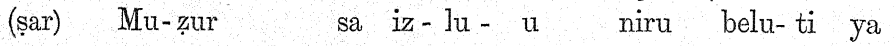
27. a - na e - muq ra - man - i su it - ta - gil va ik - bu - us

to his own power he trusted and hardened



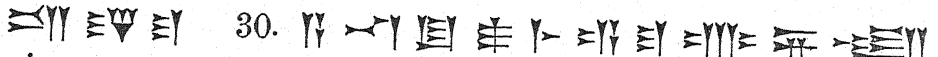
lib - bu 28. e - mu - ki su a - na kit - ri Pi - sa - mi - il - ki

his heart. His forces to the aid of Psammitichus



(ṣar) Mu - ṣur 29. sa iz - lu - u niru belu - ti ya

(king) of Egypt, who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion,



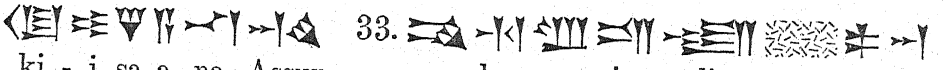
is -pur va 30. a - na -ku as -me- e va u -sal - li
he sent; and *I heard [of it], and prayed to*



Assur va Istar 31. um -ma pa- an nakiri su pa-gar su
Assur and Ishtar *thus: "Before his enemies his corpse*



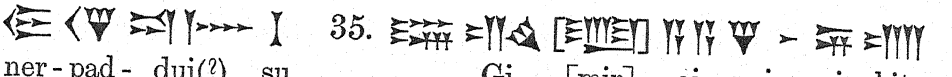
li - na - di va 32. lis - su -u - ni ner - pad dui(?) su
may they cast, and *may they carry captive his attendants."*



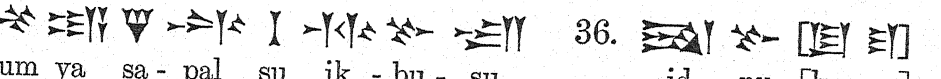
ki - i sa a- na Assur 33. am ḫu - ru is - li * * pa-an
When thus to Assur *I had prayed, he requited me. Before*



nakiri su pa -gar su 34. in - na - di va is -su-u - ni
his enemies his corpse *was thrown down, and they carried captive*



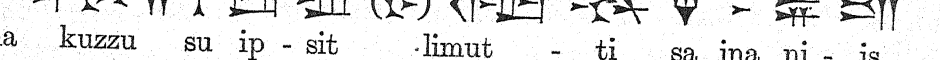
ner - pad - dui(?) su 35. Gi - [mir] - ai sa ina ni - bit
his attendants. *The Cimmerians whom by the glory*



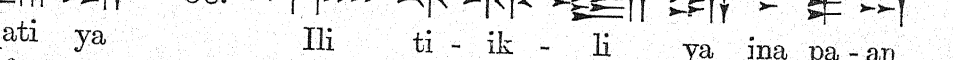
sum ya sa - pal su ik - bu - ṣu 36. id - pu -[ku va]
of my name he had trodden under him *conquered and*



iṣ - pu - nu gi - mir mati su * * * su ablu su 37. u - sib
*swept the whole of his country * * * su (Ardys) his son* *sat on*



ina kuzzu su ip - sit limut - ti sa ina ni - is
his throne, that evil work at the lifting up



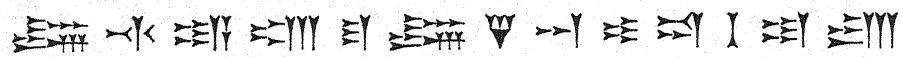
qati ya 38. Ili ti - ik - li ya ina pa - an
of my hands, *the Gods my protectors in the time of the*



abi bani (v. ba - ni) su u - sap - ri - ku 39. ina qati
father his begetter had destroyed. By the hand



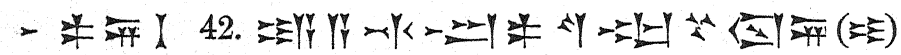
a - mir su is - pur - av - va iṣ - ba - tu niri
of his envoy he sent [word] and took the yoke



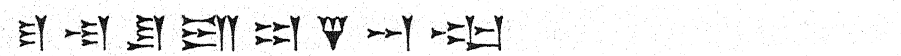
ṣaru - ti ya um - ma ṣar sa Ilu i - du su at - ta
of my kingdom thus: "The king whom God has blessed art thou;



abu-u a ultu [ka] il - lik va limuttu is -sa- kin
my father from [thee] departed, and evil was done

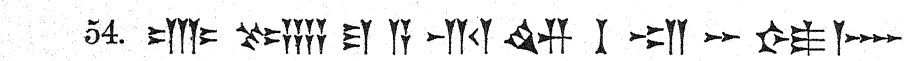


ina pa-ni su ya - a - ti ardu ḫat-tu ka mat ban - ni- (i)
in his time; I am thy devoted servant, and my people

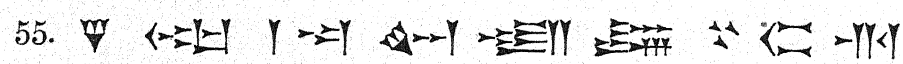


ma- la su - ḍa ab - sa - an ka
all perform thy pleasure.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN II, LINE 54, TO COLUMN III, LINE 4, VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINE 98, TO COLUMN III, LINE 42.



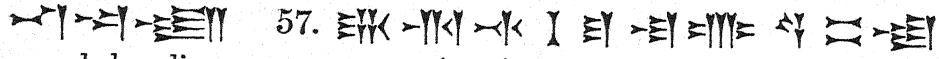
u - tir va a - ri - im su ḫal - ṣui
I restored and favoured him. The towers



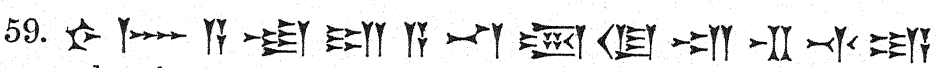
sa eli Ba - ha - li ṣar Ṣur - ri
which over against Bahel king of Tyre

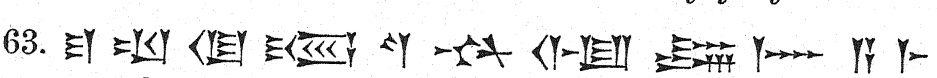


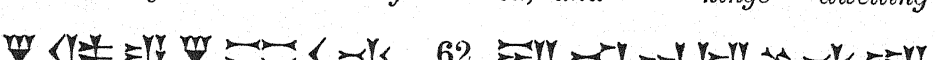
u - rak - ki - ṣu ab - tur ina tam - ti va
I had raised, I pulled down; on sea and


na - bal - li 57. gar - ri - ti su ma - la u - ẓab - bi - tu
land *all his roads which I had taken I*

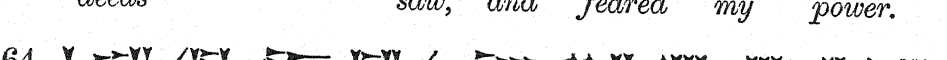

ab - ti 58. ma - da - at - ta su ka - bit - tu am - ḫar su
opened; *his abundant tribute I received;*

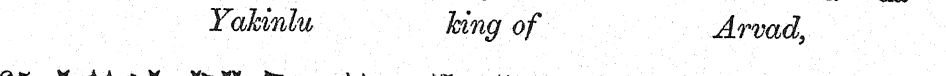

59. sal - mis a - tu - ra a - na Ninua alu belu - ti ya
peacefully I returned to Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

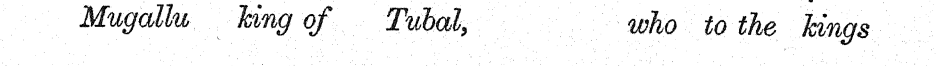

63. ma - al - ki qabal tam - ti va ṣarri a - sib
Kings in the midst of the sea, and kings dwelling

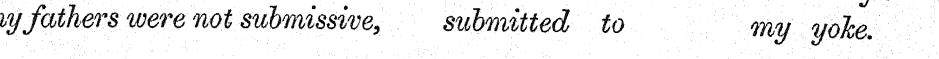

sa - de - e sa - qu - u - ti 62. da - na - an ip - se - ti ya
in the lofty mountains, *these my mighty*

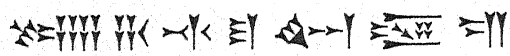

an - na - a - ti 63. e - mu - ru va ip - la - ḫu bel - u - ti
deeds *saw, and feared my power.*


64. Ya - ki - in - lu - u ṣar A - ru - u - a - da
Yakinlu *king of* *Arvad,*

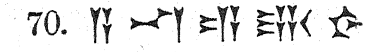

65. Mu - gal - lu ṣar Tab - a - la 66. ṣa a - na ṣarri
Mugallu king of Tubal, *who to the kings*


abi ya la kan - su 67. ik - nu - su a - na niri ya
my fathers were not submissive, *submitted to my yoke.*

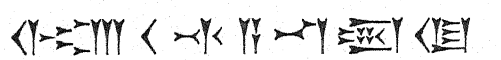

68. binti ẓi - it lib - bi su - nu 69. va
The daughters proceeding from their bodies, *and*



tir -ḫa- ti ma- ha - aṣ - ṣi
their great dowries,

70. 

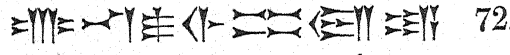
a - na e - pis sal
for concu-



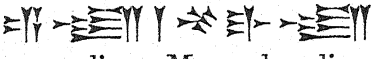
tuglu -u- ti a - na Ninua
bines to Nineveh

71. 

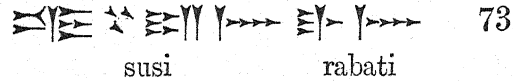
u -bi - lu - niv - va
they brought, and



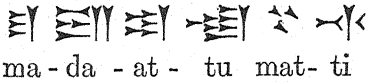
u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya
kissed my feet.

72. 

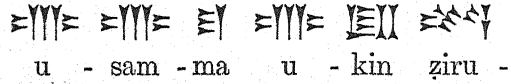
e - li Mu - gal - li
Over Mugallu



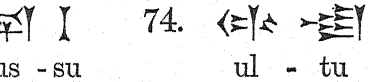
susi rabati
great horses

73. 

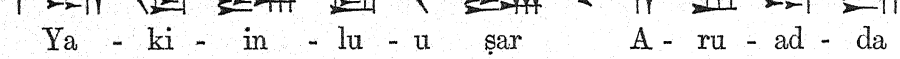
ma - da - at - tu mat - ti
the tribute of the country



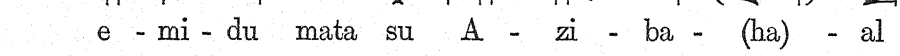
u - sam - ma u - kin ṣiru - us - su
the sum I fixed upon him.

74. 

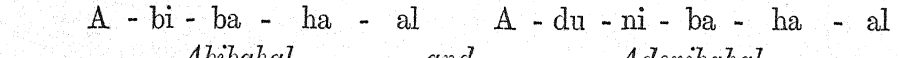
ul - tu
From



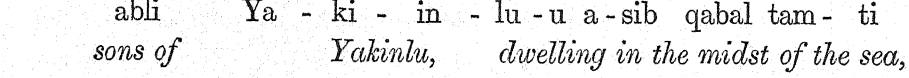
Ya - ki - in - lu - u ṣar A - ru - ad - da
Yakinlu king of Arvad



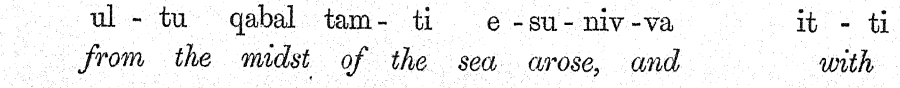
e - mi - du mata su A - zi - ba - (ha) - al
I took away his county. Azibahal,



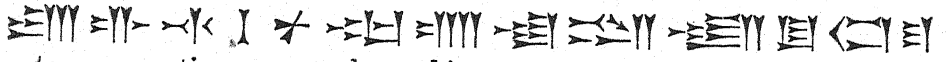
A - bi - ba - ha - al A - du - ni - ba - ha - al
Abibahal, and Adonibahal,



abli Ya - ki - in - lu - u a - sib qabal tam - ti
sons of Yakinlu, dwelling in the midst of the sea,



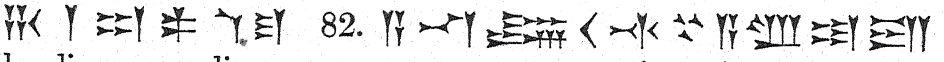
ul - tu qabal tam - ti e - su - niv - va it - ti
from the midst of the sea arose, and with



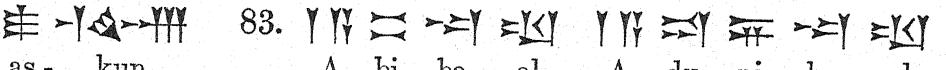
ta - mar - ti su - nu ka - bit - tu il - li - ku - niv - va
their numerous presents came and



u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya A - zi - ba - ha - al
kissed my feet. Azibahal



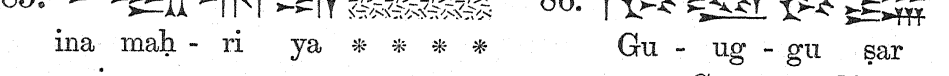
ḫa - dis ap - pa - lis va a - na ṣar - u - ti A - ru - ad - da
gladly I received, and to the kingdom of Arvad



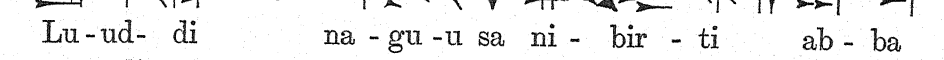
as - kun A - bi - ba - al A - du - ni - ba - al
appointed Abibahal and Adonibahal;



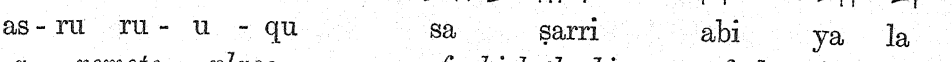
lu - bul - ti bir - mi * * * * semiri * * * *
*costly clothing * * * * rings * * * **



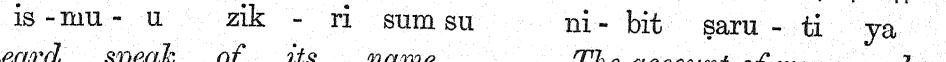
ina maḫ - ri ya * * * * Gu - ug - gu ṣar
*in my presence * * * * Gyges king of*



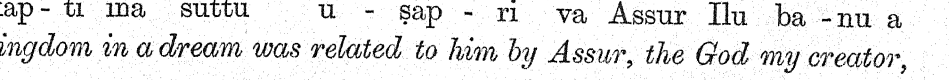
Lu - ud - di na - gu - u sa ni - bir - ti ab - ba
Lydia, a district which is across the sea,



as - ru ru - u - qu sa ṣarri abi ya la
a remote place, of which the kings my fathers had not



is - mu - u zik - ri sum su ni - bit ṣaru - ti ya
heard speak of its name. The account of my grand

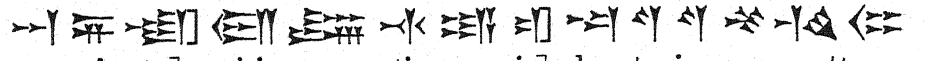


kap - ti ina suttu u - ṣap - ri va Assur Ilu ba - nu a
kingdom in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator,

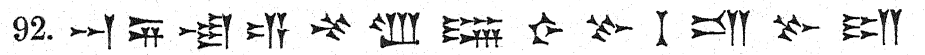


90. um - ma niri * * * * *
*thus: "the yoke * * * **

91. ina zi - kar [suttu
In remembrance [of



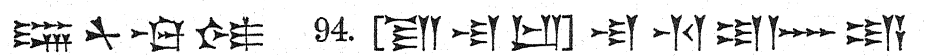
an - ni - tu] niri ṣaru - ti ya iz] - ba - tu im - mu suttu
that dream] the yoke of my kingdom he had taken]. The day he



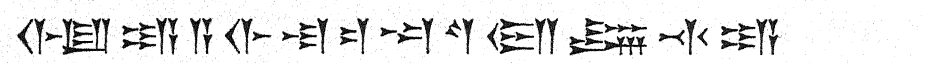
92. an - ni - tu e - mu - ru rak - bu su is - pu - ra
saw that dream his messenger he sent



93. a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi ya Gi - mir - ai
to pray for my friendship, The Cimmerians,

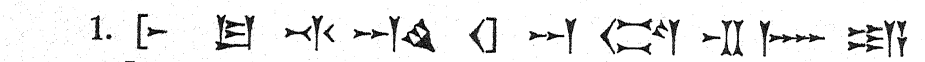


nakiri aq - ẓu 94. [sa la ip] - la - hu abi ya
extreme rebels, who feared not my fathers

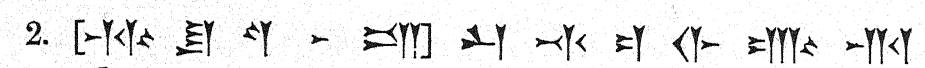


va ya - a - si la iṣ - ba - tu niri ṣaru - ti ya
and me, and took not the yoke of my kingdom.

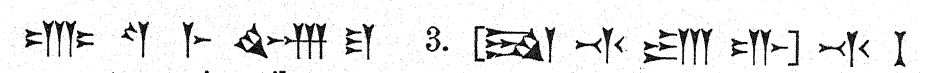
Column III, Lines 1 to 4.



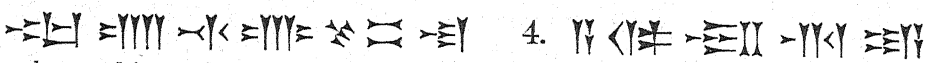
1. [Ina tugul - ti Assur va] Maruduk beli ya
In the service of Assur and Merodach my lords,



2. [ik - su - ud ina is] - qa - ti si - ga - ri
he took, and in fetters and chains



u - tam - mi - iḥ va 3. [it - ti ta - mar] - ti su
he bound and [with] his numerous



ka - bit - ti u -se- bi - la 4. a - di maḥ - ri ya

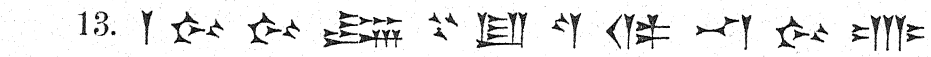
presents, he sent to my presence



(a -tam- ma- ru da - na - an Assur Ilu su)

(I saw the power of Assur his God).

K, 2675, Reverse, Lines 13 to 31.



13. Gu - gu ṣar Lu - ud - di na - gu - u

Gyges king of Lydia, a district



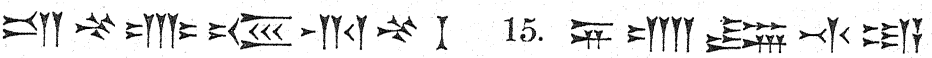
ni - bir - ti ab - ba as - ru ru - u - qu 14. sa

across the sea, a remote place, of which



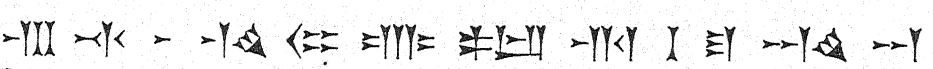
ṣarri a - li - kut maḥ - ri abi ya la

the kings going before me, my fathers, had not



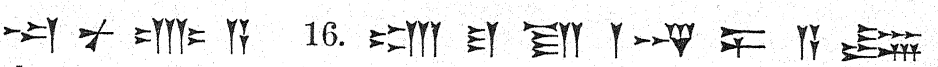
is - mu - u zik - ri sum su 15. ni - bit ṣaru - ti ya

heard speak of its name. The account of my great kingdom



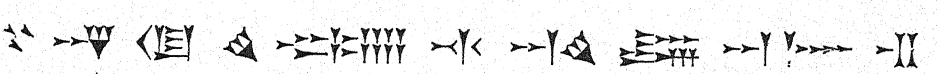
kap - ti ina suttu u - sap - ri su va Assur Ilu

in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God



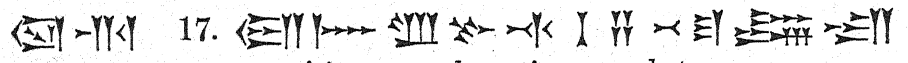
ba - nu - u a um - ma sa Assur -bani - pal ṣar

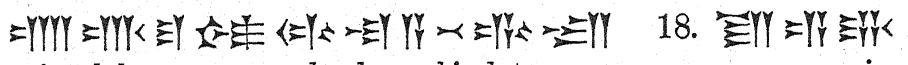
my creator, thus: "Of Assurbanipal king

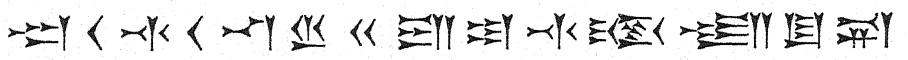


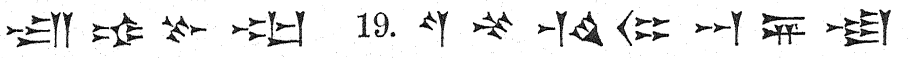
Assur ḥi - suḥ - ti Assur ṣar Ili bel

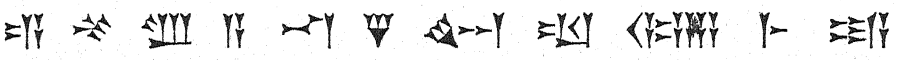
of Assyria, the beloved of Assur king of the Gods, lord

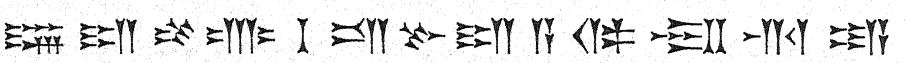

gim - ri niri ru - bu - ti su ṣa-bat va ṣaru - ṣu
of all; his princely yoke take, his majesty

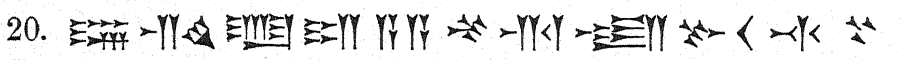

pit - luḫ va ṣu - ul - la - a bi - lut ṣu sa e - pis
reverence and submit to his dominion. By making


ardu - u - ti va na - din man- da - at - ti lil - li - ku - us
obeisance and giving tribute may thy words

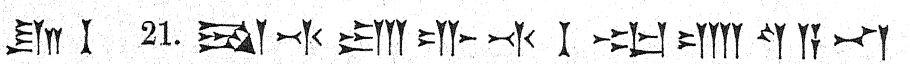

ṣu - up - pu ka im - mu suttu an - ni - tu
come to him." The day he saw that

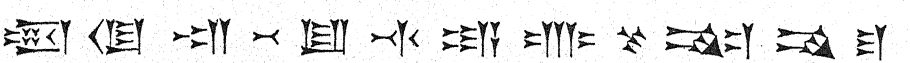

e - mu - ru a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi ya
dream, to pray for my friendship,

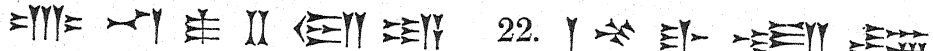

ra - gab- u su is - pu - ra a - di maḫ - ri ya
his messenger he sent to my presence.


Gi - mir - ra - ai mu- dal - li - pu-u- ti mata
Cimmerians, wasters of his country,

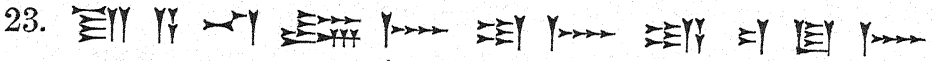

su ina kir - bi tam - ḫa- ri bal - ḍu - uṣ - ṣu ik - su- da
in the midst of war, alive his hand


qati su it - ti ta - mar - ti su ka - bit -tu a - na
had taken. With numerous presents, to


Ninua alu bi - lu - ti ya u - se - bil - av - va
Nineveh the city of my dominion, he sent and

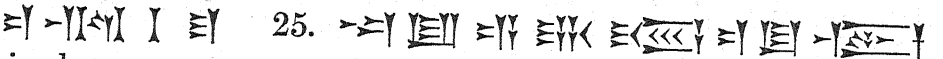

u - na - as - siq sepi ya 22. Mu - gal - li ṣar
kissed *my feet,* *Mugallu* *king of*

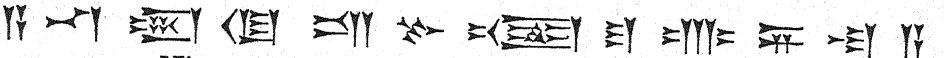

(blank) a - sib ḫar - sa - a - ni sa - di pa - as - qu - u - ti
(blank) *dwelling in the forests and rugged mountains,*


23. sa a - na ṣarri abi ya kakki
who against the kings *my fathers had sent fighting men,*

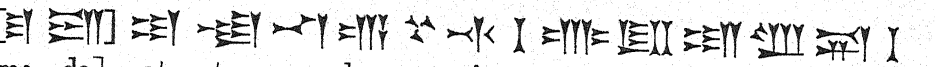

sit - pu - ru e - tap - pa - lu da za - a - ti 24. ki - rib
and had increased depredations, *within*

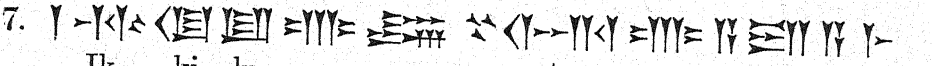

mati su ḫat - ti im - qut ṣu va pu - luḫ - ti ṣaru - ti ya
his country fear struck him, and the terror of my kingdom

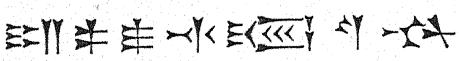

is - ḫup su va 25. ba - lu e - pis qabal kakki taḫaz
overwhelmed him. *Without making war, fighting, and battle,*


a - na Ninua is - pu - rav - va u - zal - la - a
to Nineveh *he sent,* *and* *submitted to*


bi - lu - u - ti 26. susi rabati
my dominion. *Great horses*


[ma - da] - at - tu na - dan mat - ti su u - kin ṣi - ru - us - su
the tribute given by his country I fixed upon him.


27. Ik - ki - lu - u ṣar Ar - u - a - da a - sib
Ikkilu *king of* *Arvad,* *dwelling*



ra -pa- as - ti qabal tam- ti

afar off, in the midst of the sea;

28. 

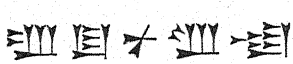
sa ki - ma nunu ina

who, like a fish in



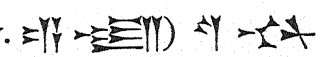
me la ni - i - bi * * * ḫa e - de - e dan - ni

the boundless waters * * * *long(?) time(?) the*



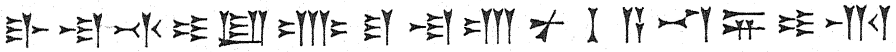
sit - ku-nu ru - tu

place(?) was;

29. 

sa eli (v. e - li) tam- ti

who over the great



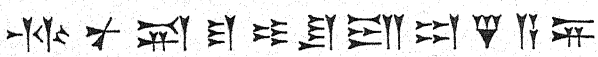
gal- la - ti i - lu - u va la kit - nu - su a - na ni - i - ri

sea roamed, and was not submissive to the yoke

30. 

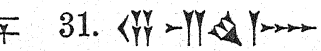
bi - lu -u - ti lu - u va a - na e - pis ardu - ti ya

of my dominion. Now, to perform my service



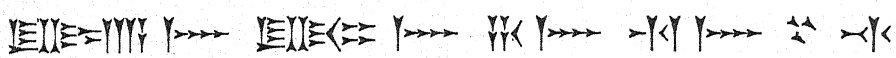
ik - nu - us va i - su - ḍa ab - sa - a - ni

he submitted, and he executed my pleasure.

31. 

ḫuraẓi

Gold,



sarad ṣami sarad zalmi nuni izzuri mat- ti

green paint, black paint, fishes and birds, of the country



sam -ma u - kin e - li su

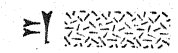
the sum I fixed over him.

Fragment of Cylinder E, Lines 1 to 12.

1. 

A - na me - ṣir mati ya nisi mati ya

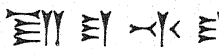
To the border of my country the men of my country



iz * * *
* * *

2. 

man-nu me- e at - ta a-hu-u ig - bu [u]
"who art thou brother?" they said;

3. 

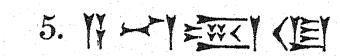
sa ma- ti -ma ra -gab- u
"of what place?" The messenger

4. 

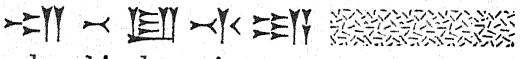
da -rag- gu la
the road took not



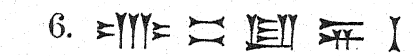
is -ku- na a- na ki -[rib mati ya]
to the midst of [my country,]

5. 

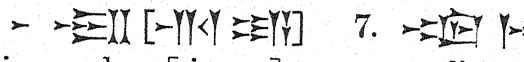
a- na Ninua
to Nineveh



alu bi- lu - ti ya * * * *
the city of my dominion * * * *

6. 

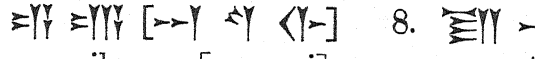
u - bi - lu - ni su
they brought him



ina maḥ - [ri ya]
into [my] presence.

7. 

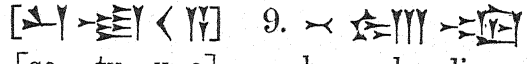
lisani ẓi - it sam - si
The languages of the rising of the sun (east)



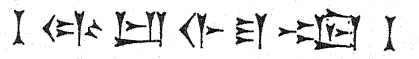
e - rib [sam- si]
and the setting of the sun (west),

8. 

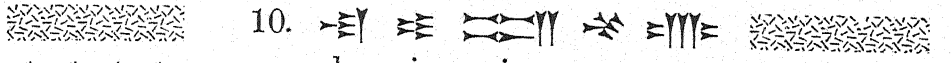
sa Assur u -ma- al - lu -u
which Assur had committed to



[qa- tu -u-a]
[my hand].

9. 

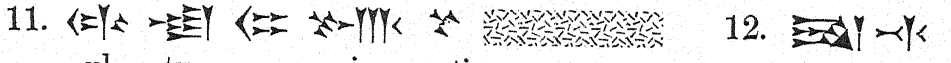
be- el lisan su ul ib - si va lisan su
A master of his language there was not, his tongue



* * * *
* * * *

10.

la, i - sim - mu- u
they could not understand

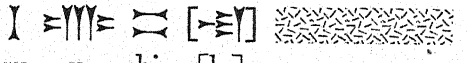


11.

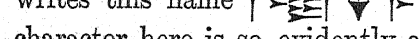
ul - tu me- ṣir mati * * * *
from the border of * * * *

12.

it - ti
with



su u - bi - [la] * * * *
him he brought * * * *

These texts differ in some important points; the earliest one, K, 2675, does not mention either the submission of Tyre, the tribute of Sandasarmi of Cilicia, or the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. Cylinder B, which was written during the war with Saulmugina, describes the submission of Tyre, but omits the Cilician tribute and revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. All these events are narrated on Cylinder A, which was written later than either of the other texts. From these facts, and the statement that Miluḫḫa (Ethiopia) revolted with Saulmugina (Cylinder A, col. iv, l. 35), I judge that the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus took place at the time of the general rising against Assyria, in which Saul-mugina the king's brother was concerned. The fragment of Cylinder E is part of an account of the reception of the envoy of Gyges king of Lydia. (Pisamilki king of Egypt is the Psammitichus of the Greeks, hier.  Psametik). One copy of Cylinder A writes this name , Tu-sa-mi-il-ki; the first character here is so evidently a mistake that I have not inserted it as a variant. On Tablet K, 3402, the two Egyptian wars having been given as one, the war with Bahal of Tyre is called the second expedition, instead of the third.

PART V.

The Conquest of Karbit.

TEXTS.

The texts of this expedition are Cylinder B, col. iii, lines 5 to 15; K, 2675, reverse, lines 6 to 12; and a fragment of Cylinder E, lines 1 to 10.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINES 5 TO 15.

5. 

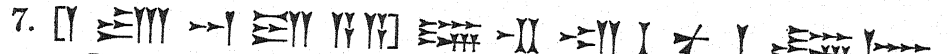
[Ina arbe- e gar] - ri ya a - na Kar - bat

[In my fourth] expedition to Karbat

6. 

[ki - rib Ḥa- le] - e - ḥa - az - ta lu - u al - lik

in Halehasta I went.

7. 

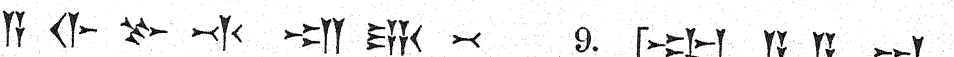
[Ta - an - da - ai] niru su - nu ana ṣarri

[Tandai] their chief to the kings



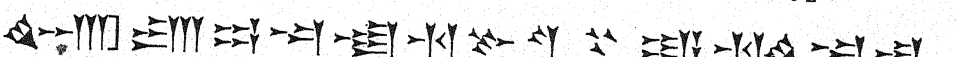
abi ya [la kit - nu - su a - na] niri va nisi

my fathers [had not been submissive to] the yoke, and the men



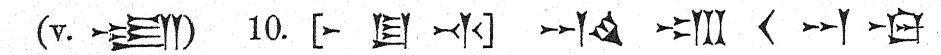
a - si - bu - ti Kar - bat [ka - ay - an

dwelling in Karbat [constantly] were

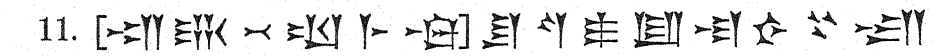


aḫ] - ta - nab - ba - tu ḫu - bu - ut mati ya mut - ba - la

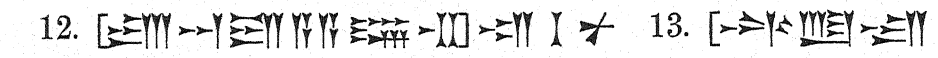
carrying off the plunder of my country.



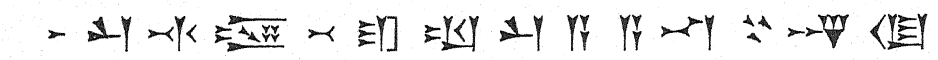
(v. li) [ina tugulti] Assur Bel va Nabu
[In the service] of Assur, Bel, and Nebo,



[Kar-bat al - mi ak] - su - ud as - lu - la sal - lat ṣu
[Karbat I besieged,] I captured, I carried off its spoil.



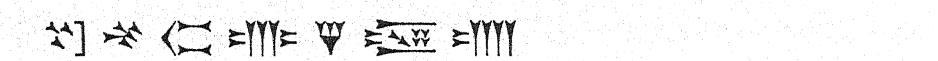
[Ta - an - da - ai] niru su-nu [bal - ḍu- ṣu
[Tandai] their chief [alive



ina qa - ti aẓ - bat va] al - qa - a a - na Assur
in hand I took, and] brought to Assyria;

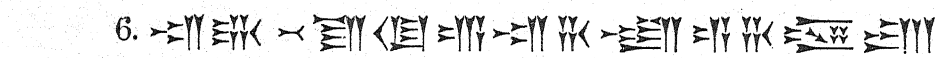


[nisi sa] la as - lu - lu [i - na ki - rib]
[the people] whom I had not carried off [into the midst of]

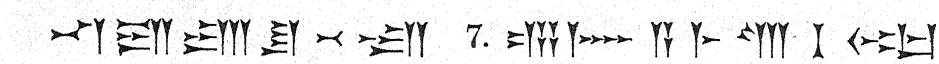


Mu - ẓur u - sa - aẓ - bit
Egypt I caused to be taken.

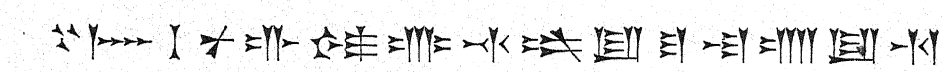
K, 2675, Reverse, Lines 6 to 12.



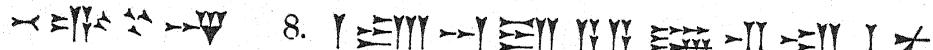
Kar-bat sa ki - rib Ḥa- le - e - ḥa- az - ta
Karbat, which in Halehazta

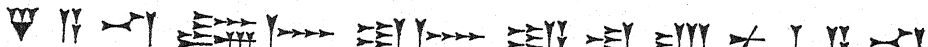


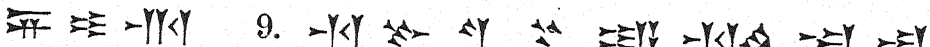
na - da - ta su - bat ṣu nisi a - sib lib su eli
is situated, the people dwelling in it, to

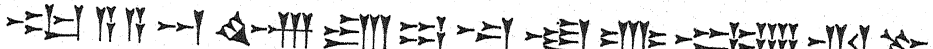


sadi su-nu mar - ẓu - u - ti tak - lu va la pit - lu - ḫu
their rugged mountains trusted, and feared not the


bi - lut Assur 8. Ta - an - da - ai niru su-nu
power of Assyria. *Tandia* *their chief,* *who*

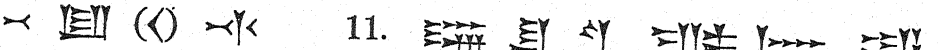

sa a - na ṣarri abi ya la kit - nu - su a - na
to the *kings* *my fathers was not submissive* *to the*

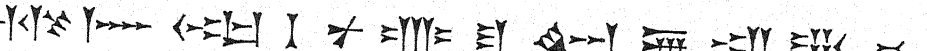

ni - i - ri 9. ḫu - bu - ut mati ya mut - ba - la
yoke, *the plunder of my country*


ka - ay - an iḫ - ta - nab - ba - tu u - saḫ - ri - bu
constantly *they carried off,* *and wasted*

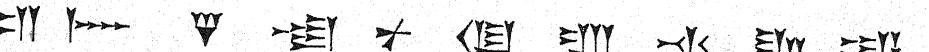

na - me - e su 10. as - su ip - se - e - ti an - na - a - ti
its produce. *About* *these* *things,*


abli Dur - il im - da - ḫa - ru - ni va u - sal - lu - u
the sons of *Duril* *besought me,* *and* *supplicated*


bi - lu - (u) - ti 11. su - ut - saki ya
my power. *My* *generals,*

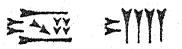

sanuti eli su - nu u - ma - hi - ir Kar - bat
the prefects *over* *them,* *I* *sent,* *and* *Karbat*


ik - su - du is - lu - la nisi su 12. nisi
they captured, *and* *carried off* *its people.* *The people*


alani sa - tu - nu ki - sit - ti qati ya
of those cities *captured* *by* *my hand*



aṣ - ṣuḫ va ki - rib Mu - ẓur u - sa-
I removed, and into Egypt caused

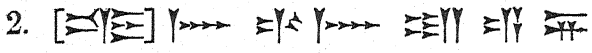


aẓ - bit
to be taken.

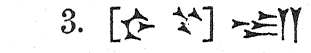
Fragment of Cylinder E, Lines 1 to 9.

1. 

[qu - ra] - di su u - ra - ṣi - bu ina kaki
His warriors they destroyed with the sword;

2. 

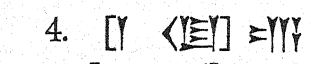
imiri alpi ẓe - e - ni
asses, oxen, and sheep,

3. 

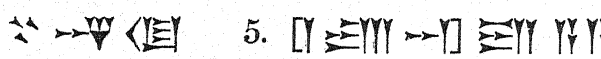
[sal-lat] ṣu
its spoil in



ka - bit - tu is - lu - lu - u - ni
abundance they carried off

4. 

[ana ki] - rib
to the midst of



Assur
Assyria.

5. 

[Ta - an] - da - ai niru su-nu
Tandia their chief



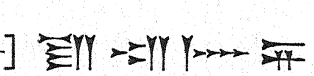
bal - ḍu - ṣu ina qa - ti
alive in hand

6. 

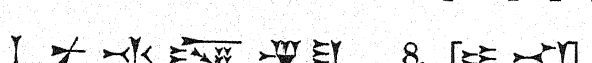
[iz - ba] - tu - ni ub - lu -u - ni
they took, and brought



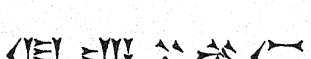
a - di maḥ - ri ya
to my presence.

7. 

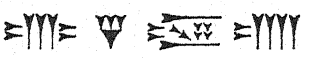
[nisi] sa alani
[The people] of those cities



su - nu - ti aṣ - ṣuḫ
I removed, and

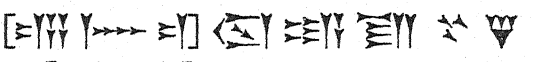
8. 

[i - na] ki - rib Mu - ẓur
into the midst of Egypt



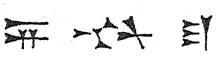
u -sa - aẓ - bit

I caused to be taken.

9. 

[nisi iz]-bam ya sa mat sa

Men of my bow, of countries which



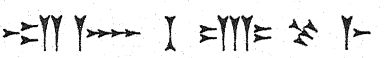
zal - ti va

were conquered

10. 

[i - na] Kar - bi - it va

in Karbat and



alani su u -se - sib

its cities, I placed.

The campaign against Karbit, or Karbat, is the least important of Assurbanipal's expeditions. We find again some copies claiming the expedition for the king; but there is no doubt, from the statements of K, 2675, and Cylinder E, that an Assyrian general commanded. As the captives were transported to Egypt, this campaign must have taken place before the revolt of Psammitichus. Karbat appears to have been situated in the mountains east of the Tigris, and between Assyria and Elam.

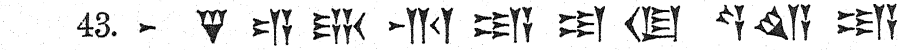
PART VI.

The War with Minni.

TEXTS.

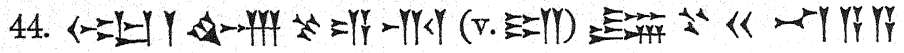
There are two principal texts to this expedition; Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 43 to 82, and Cylinder B, col. iii, line 16, to col. iv, line 14.

Cylinder A, Column III, Lines 43 to 82.



Ina arbe- e gar - ri ya ad - ki ummani ya

In my fourth expedition, I gathered my army;



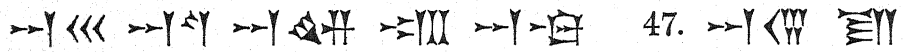
eli Aḫ -se- e - ri (v. ra) ṣar Man- na - ai

against Akhseri king of Minni



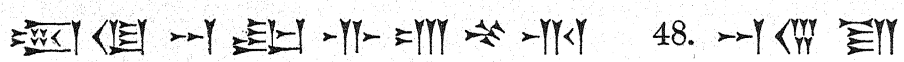
us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu ina ki - bit Assur

I directed the march. By command of Assur,



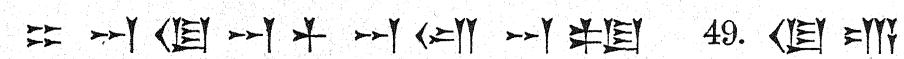
Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa

Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of



Ninua Ilu ṣar - rat Kit - mu - ri Istar sa

Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Ishtar of



Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku ki - rib

Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku; into



Man- na - ai e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak sal-dis
Minni *I entered* *and* *marched victoriously;*



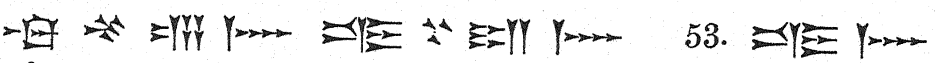
alani su dan-nu- ti a- di ṣihruti sa ni - i - ba
his strong cities and *smaller ones,* *which* *were*



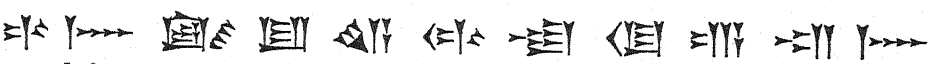
la i -su -u a - di ki - rib I - zir -tu (v. ti)
without number, *to the* *midst of* *Izirtu,*



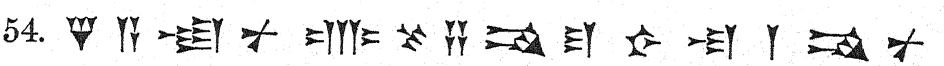
ak - su -ud (v. aksud) ab - bul ag - gur ina isati
I took; *I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire*



ak - mu nisi susi imiri
I burned. *People,* *horses,* *asses,*



alpi ṣeni ul - tu ki - rib alani
oxen, *and* *sheep,* *from the* *midst* *of* *those*



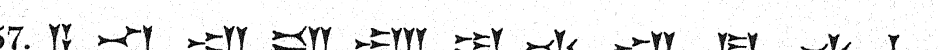
sa - a - tu - nu u -se ṣa - av -va sal - la -tis am - nu
cities *I brought* *out,* *and* *as* *a* *spoil* *I* *counted.*



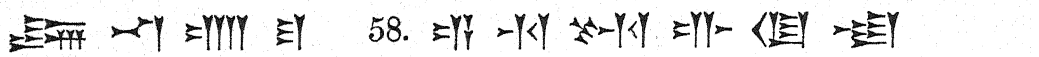
Ah -se- e - ri a - lak gar - ri ya is -me- e va
Ahseri *of the progress of my expedition heard; and*



u -vas- ser I - zir - tu alu ṣar - (u) - ti su
abandoned *Izirtu* *his royal city;*

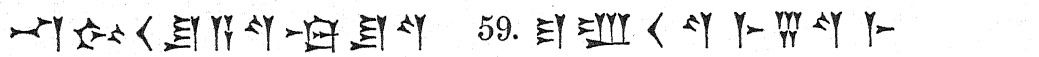


a - na Is - ta - at - ti alu tuglu - ti su
to *Istatti* *his* *castle* *he*



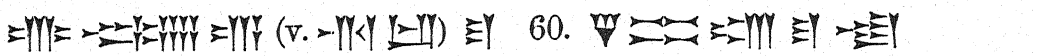
in - na - bit va 58. e - ḫu - uz mar - ki - tu

fled, and took refuge.



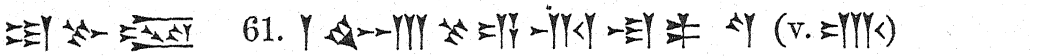
na - gu - u su - a - tu ak - su - ud 59. ma - lak 10 im - mi 5 im - mi

That district I took; for fifteen days' journey



u - saḫ - rib (v. ri - ib) va 60. sa - qu - um - ma - tu

I laid waste, and the highlands



ad - bu - uk 61. Aḫ - se - e - ri la pa - laḫ (v. luḫ)

I conquered. Ahseri not fearing



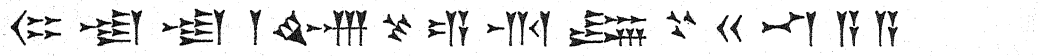
belu - ti ya 62. ina a - mat Istar a - si - bat Arba - il

my power, by the will of Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,



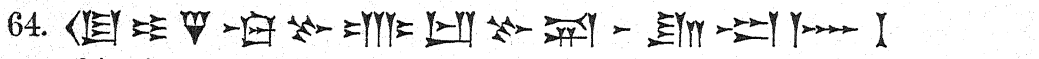
sa ul - tu re - e - si tag - bu - u 63. um - ma a - na - ku

who from the first had spoken thus: "I am



mi - tu - tu Aḫ - se - e - ri ṣar Man - na - ai

the destroyer of Ahseri, king of Minni."



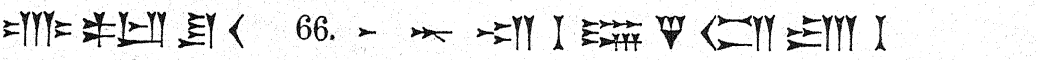
64. ki - i sa ag - bu - u ip - pu - us ina qati ardi su

When I had commanded it, it was accomplished. Into the hands of his



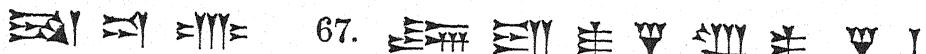
65. tam - nu su va nisi mati su ṣi - ḫu eli su

servants she delivered him, and the people of his country a revolt

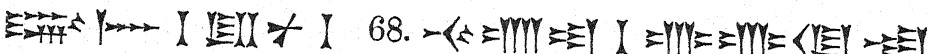


u - sab - su - u 66. ina tarṣi alu su sa - lam - ta su

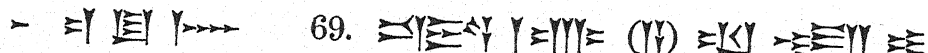
against him made, and in front of his city his attendants threw



id - du - u 67. in - da - as - sa - ru pa - gar su
down and *tore in pieces* *his corpse.*



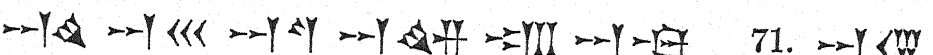
aḫi su kin-nu su 68. ziri bit abi su u - sam - ki - tu
His brothers, his relatives, *and the seed of the house of his father, they*



ina kakki 69. arku U - (a) - al - li - i
destroyed with the sword. *Afterwards* *Vaalli*



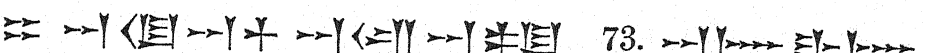
ablu su u -sib ina (v. i-na) kuzzu su 70. da - na - an
his son *sat on* *his throne;* *the power of*



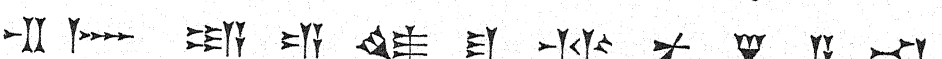
Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu 71. Istar
Assur, *Sin,* *Shamas,* *Vul,* *Bel,* *Nebo,* *Ishtar*



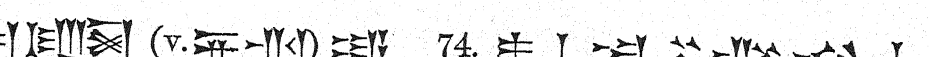
sa Ninua Ilu ṣar - rat Kit - mu - ri 72. Istar sa
of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, *Ishtar of*



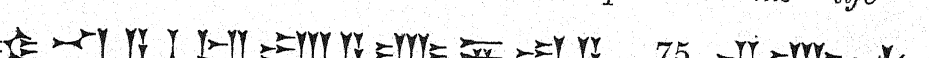
Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku 73. Ili rabati
Arbela, *Ninip,* *Nergal, and Nusku,* *the great Gods*



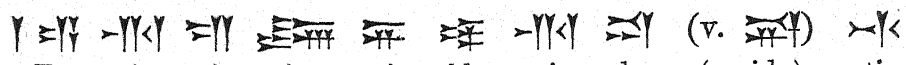
beli ya e - mur va ik - nu - sa a - na
my lords, *he saw,* *and* *submitted* *to*



niri (v. ni - ri) ya 74. as - su ba - laḍ napis - ti su
my yoke. *To* *preserve* *his* *life*



ub - na - a su ip - ta - a u - sal - la - a 75. bel - u - ti
his hand (friendship) he offered, and besought *my power.*



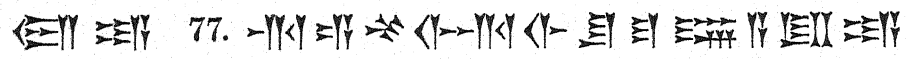
E - ri - ṣi - in - ni ablu ri - du - (v. ridu) - ti

Erisinni, his eldest son,



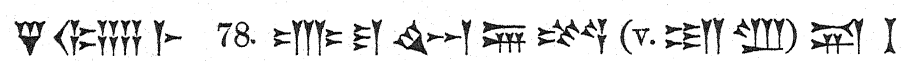
76. a - na Ninua is - pur - av - va u - na - as - siq

to Nineveh he sent, and kissed



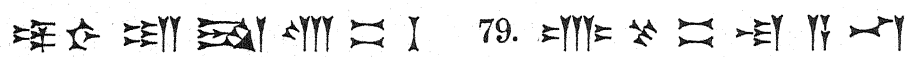
sepi ya 77. re - e - mu ar - si su va a - mir ya

my feet. Favour I granted him, and my messenger



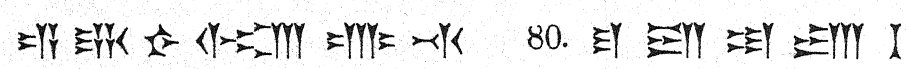
sa salim - mi 78. u - ma - hi - ir ziru - (v. zi - ru) - us - su

for friendship I sent to him.



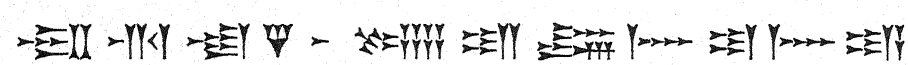
bintu zi - it lib - bi su 79. u - se - bi - la a - na

The daughter proceeding from his body he sent for a



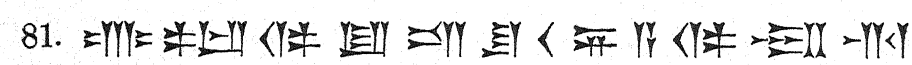
e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti 80. ma - da - at - ta su

concubine. The former



mah - ri - tu sa ina tir - zi ṣarri abi ya

tribute, which in the time of the kings my fathers



81. u - sab - di - lu is - su - u - ni a - di mah - ri

they had broken off, he had brought to my presence.



(v mahri) ya 82. 30 susi eli ma - da - (at) - ti

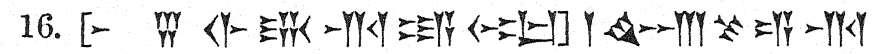
Thirty horses, beside the former



su mah - ri - ti u - rad - di va e - mid (v. mi-is) ṣu

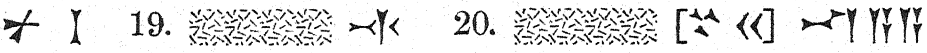
tribute, I added and fixed upon him.

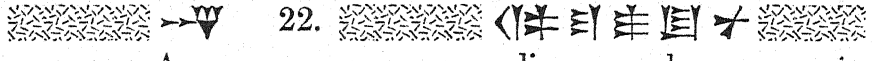
CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINE 16, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 14.

16. 
[Ina ḥamsi gar - ri ya eli] Aḥ - se - e - ri
[In my fifth expedition against] *Ahseri*

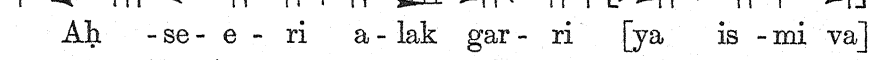
17. 
[ṣar Man - na - ai lu - u] al - lik
[king of Minni] *I went.*

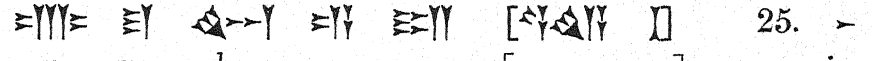
18. 
* * * *
* * * *


nu - su * * * * ti [Man] - na - ai
submit(?) * * * * *ti* *Minni*

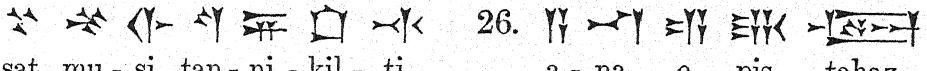
21. 
* * * * Assur
* * * * *Assur*

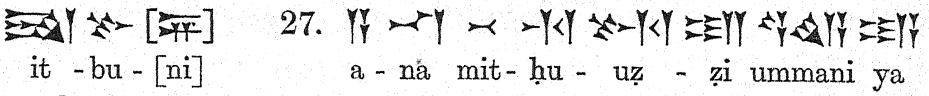
22.
* * * * di - va as - ku - nu * * *
* * * * * *and I had made* * * *

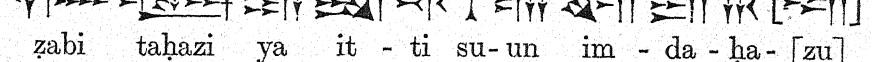
23. 
Aḥ - se - e - ri a - lak gar - ri [ya is - mi va]
Ahseri, of the progress of [my] expedition [heard, and]

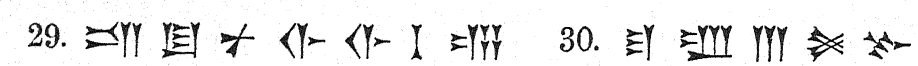
24. 
u - ma - he - e - ra [umman su]
sent forth *[his army].*

25.
ina
In the


sat mu - si tan - ni - kil - ti a - na e - pis taḥaz
middle of the night, secretly *to* *make* *war,*


it - bu - [ni] a - nă mit - ḥu - uẓ - ẓi ummani ya
they came *to* *fight* *my army.*

28. 
ẓabi taḥazi ya it - ti su - un im - da - ḥa - [zu]
My men of war, *with* *them* *fought,* *and*

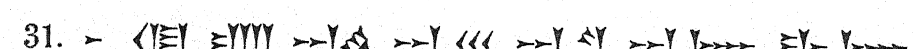


29. is - ku - nu abikta su - un
accomplished their overthrow.

30. ma - lak 3 kas - pu
For a space of three kaspu



ekal rag-[mat ṣu] - nu u - mal - lu - u ẓer rap - su
of ground their slain filled the wide desert.



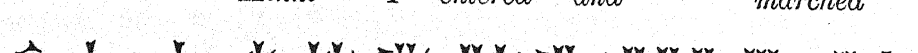
31. ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Ili rabati
By command of Assur, Sin, and Shamas, the great Gods



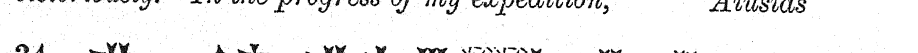
beli ya 32. sa u - tak - ki - lu in - ni
my lords, who protected me;



ki - rib Man - na - ai e - ru - ub va 33. at - tal - lak
into Minni I entered and marched



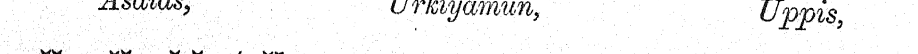
sal - dis ina mi - ti - iq gar - ri ya Ai - u - ṣi - as
victoriously. In the progress of my expedition, Aiusias



ḥal - ẓu Pa - sa - * * - ṣu Bu - ṣu - ut
*the fortress, Pasa * * su Pusut,*



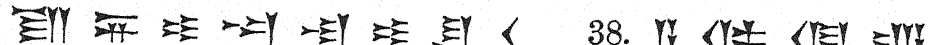
As - di - as Ur - ki - ya - mu - un Up - pi - is
Asdias, Urkiyamun, Uppis,

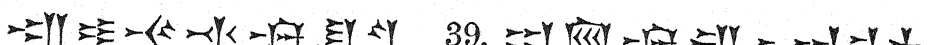


Ṣi - ḥu - u - a 36. Na - zi - ni - ri 8
Sihua, and Naziniri, eight



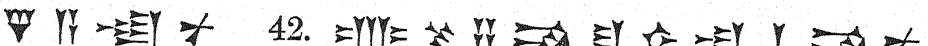
alani dan - nu - ti 37. va a - di ẓi - iḥ - ru - ti
strong cities, and smaller ones


sa ni - i - ba la i - su - u 38. a - di ki - rib
which were without number, to the midst of

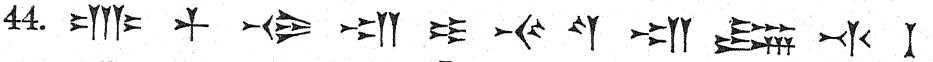

I - zir - ti ak - su - ud 39. ab - bul ag - gur ina isati
Izirtu I captured, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire

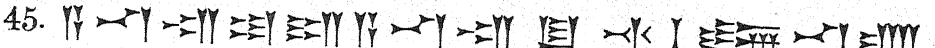

ak - mu 40. nisi susi imiri
I burned. People, horses, asses,

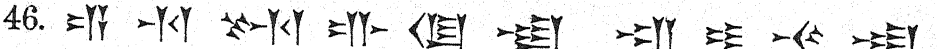

alpi ṣeni 41. ul - tu ki - rib alani
oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those

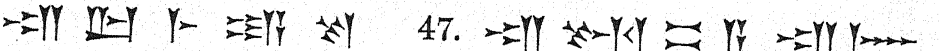

sa - a - tu - nu 42. u - se - ṣa - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu
cities I brought out, and as a spoil I counted.

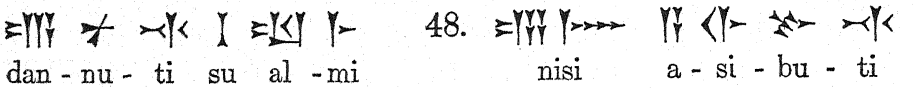

43. Aḫ - se - e - ri a - lak gar - ri ya is - mi va
Ahseri of the progress of my expedition heard, and


44. u - vas - ser I - zir - tu alu ṣaru - ti su
abandoned Izirtu, his royal city.

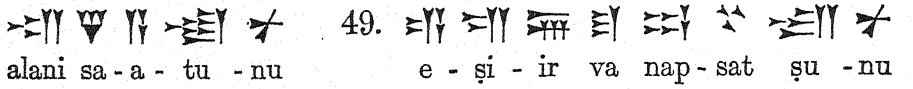

45. a - na Ad - ra - a - na alu tugul - ti su in - na - bit
To Adrana, his castle, he fled,


46. e - ḫu - uz mar - ki - tu I - zir - tu
and took refuge. Izirtu,


Ur - mi - ya - te 47. Uz - bi - a alani
Urmiyate, and Uzbia, his



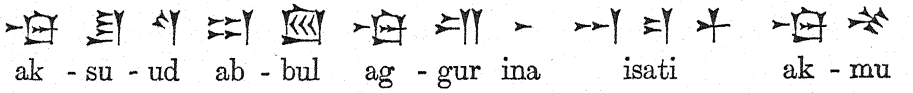
dan - nu - ti su al - mi 48. nisi a - si - bu - ti
fortified cities, I surrounded, the people dwelling in



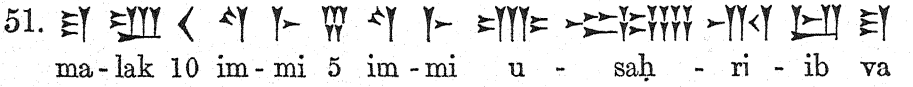
alani sa - a - tu - nu 49. e - ṣi - ir va nap - sat ṣu - nu
those cities I besieged, and their spirits



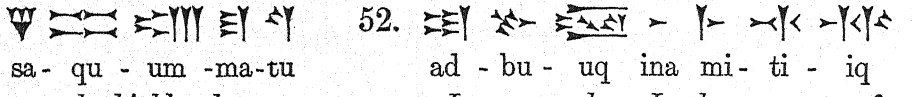
u - ṣi - iq u - tir - ri 50. na - gu - u su - a - tu
I humbled, and caused to melt away. That district I



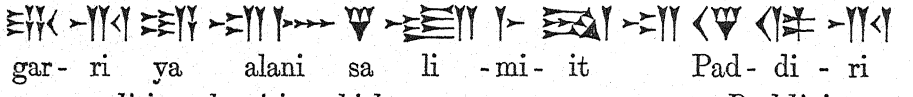
ak - su - ud ab - bul ag - gur ina isati ak - mu
took, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned.



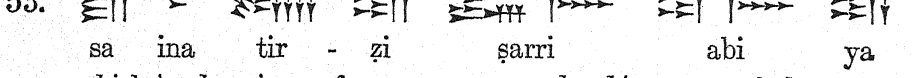
ma - lak 10 im - mi 5 im - mi u - saḥ - ri - ib va
For fifteen days journey I laid waste, and



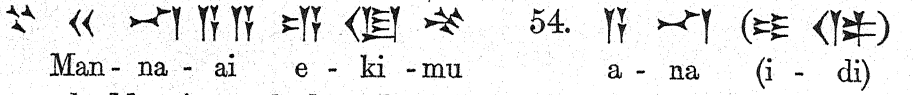
sa - qu - um - ma - tu 52. ad - bu - uq ina mi - ti - iq
the highlands I conquered. In the progress of



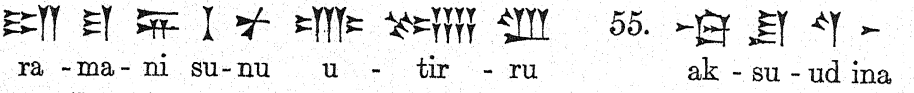
gar - ri ya alani sa li - mi - it Pad - di - ri
my expedition, the cities which were near Paddiri,



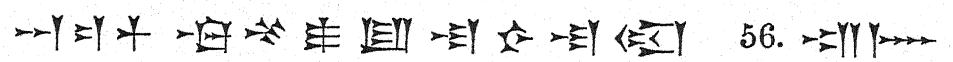
sa ina tir - ṣi ṣarri abi ya
which in the time of the kings my fathers



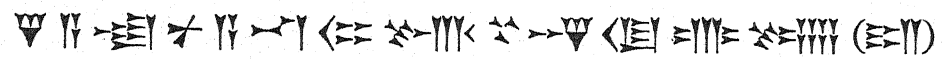
Man - na - ai e - ki - mu 54. a - na (i - di)
the Mannians had taken, and to their own



ra - ma - ni su - nu u - tir - ru 55. ak - su - ud ina
(hands) had restored; I captured, in the



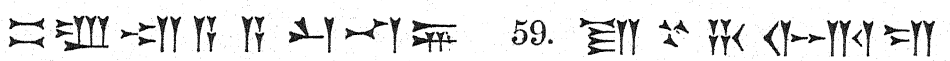
isati ak-mu as-lu-la sal-la-ṣun 56. alani
fire I burned and carried off their spoil. *Those*



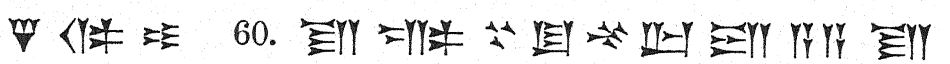
sa-a-tu-nu a-na me-ṣir Assur u-tir-(ra)
cities to the boundaries of Assyria I restored.



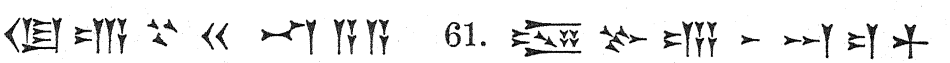
na-gu-u sa Ar-ṣi-ya-ni-is sa 58.
The district of Arsiyanis, which



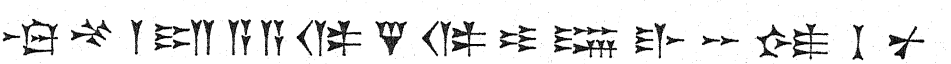
bi-rit A-ya-qa-na-ni sa Ḥa-ar-ṣi 59.
bounded Azaqanani of Harsi,



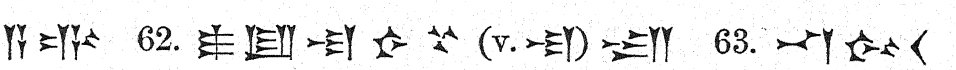
sa-di-i sa ris Ku-mu-ur-da-ai sa 60.
the mountain which is at the top of Kumurda, in the



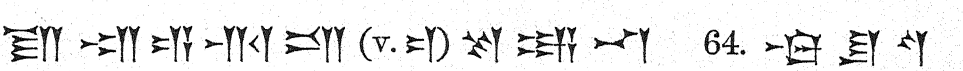
ki-rib Man-na-ai aṣ-pu-un in isati 61.
midst of Minni I destroyed, and in the fire



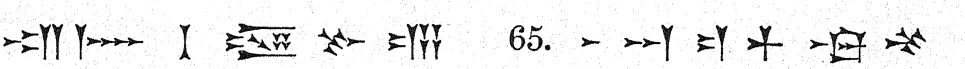
ak-mu Ra-ai-di-sa-di-i rab-ḫal-ṣu su-nu
I burned, Raidisadi commander of their fortresses



a-duk as-lu-la sal-lat (v. la) ṣu 63.
I killed, I carried off his spoil.



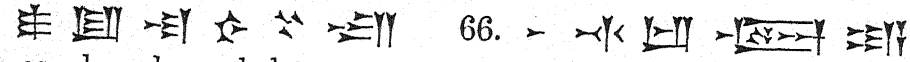
sa E-ri-is (v. iṣ) te-ya-na 64.
of Eristeyana



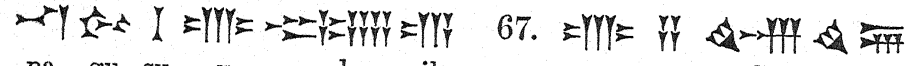
alani su aṣ-pu-un 65.
its cities I destroyed,



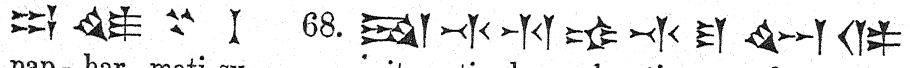
ina isati ak-mu
and in the fire I burned;



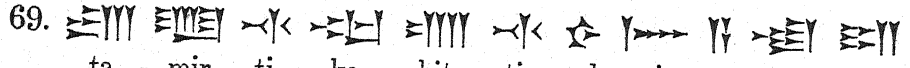
as - lu - la sal - lat ṣu 66. ina ti - ib taḫazi ya
I carried off its spoil. *By the shock of my army,*



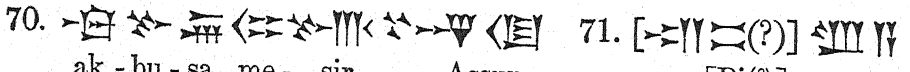
na - gu su u - saḫ - rib 67. u - ẓa - aḫ - ḫi - ir
that district I laid waste, *I reduced the*



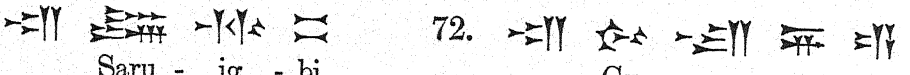
nap - ḫar mati su 68. it - ti ḫu - ub - ti ma - ha - di
whole of his country. *With much plunder,*



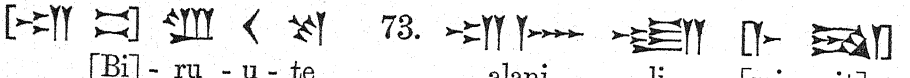
69. ta - mir - ti ka - bit - ti sal - mis a - tu - ra
and numerous gifts, peacefully I returned,



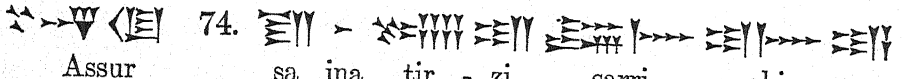
70. ak - bu - ṣa me - ṣir Assur 71. [Bi(?)] - ru - a
and marched across the borders of Assyria. *Birua(?),*



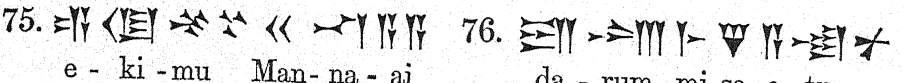
Ṣaru - ig - bi 72. Gu - ṣu - ne - e
Saruigbi, *Gusune,*



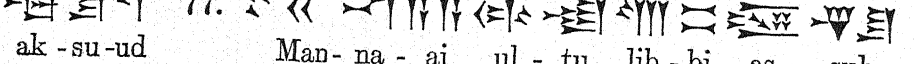
[Bi] - ru - u - te 73. alani li - [mi - it]
and Birute(?), *cities* *near*



Assur 74. sa ina tir - ẓi ṣarri abi ya
Assyria, *which in the time of the kings* *my fathers*



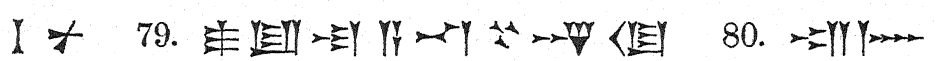
75. e - ki - mu Man - na - ai 76. da - rum - mi sa - a - tu - nu
were captured by the Mannians, *those districts*



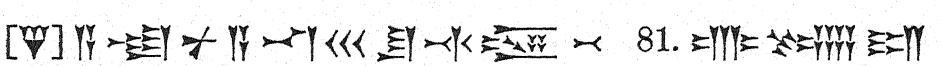
ak - su - ud 77. Man - na - ai ul - tu lib - bi aṣ - ṣuḫ
I took. *The Mannians, from the midst I removed,*

78. 

susi bat- li u -nu-tu tahazi
the horses and their instruments of war



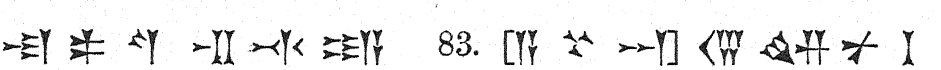
su-nu as- lu - la a- na Assur 79. alani 80.
I carried off to Assyria. Those



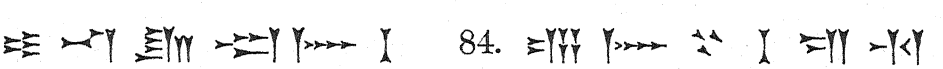
[sa]-a- tu -nu a - na es - su- ti aẓ -bat 81. u - tir - ra
cities a second time I took, and restored



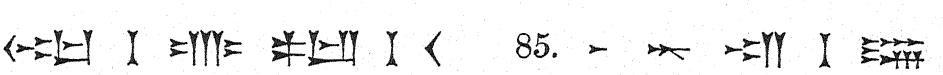
a - na me - ṣir Assur 82. Aḥ -se- e - ri
to the boundaries of Assyria. Ahseri,



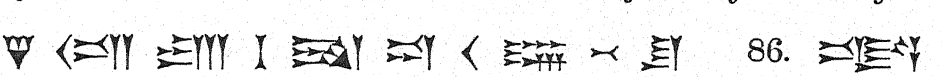
la pa laḥ bilu- ti ya 83. [a-mat] Istar im -nu su
not fearing my power, [the will] of Ishtar delivered



i - na qati ardi su 84. nisi mati su ṣi - ḥu
him into the hands of his servants. The people of his country a revolt



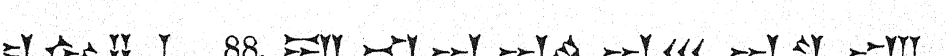
eli su u - sab -su-u 85. ina ṣuqi alu su
against him made, and in front of his city



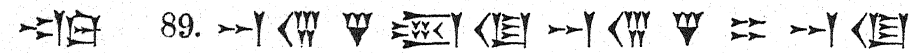
sa - lam - ta su id - du - u pagar su 86. arku
his attendants threw his corpse. Afterwards



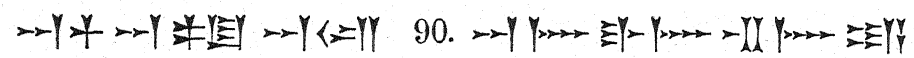
Va - a - al - li - i ablu su 87. u -sib i - na
Vaalli his son sat on



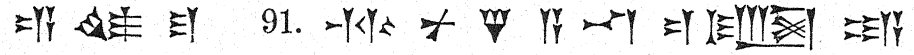
kuzzu su 88. da - na - an Assur Sin Samas Bel
his throne. The power of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel,



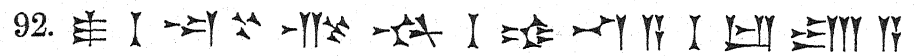
Nabu 89. Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba- il
Nebo, *Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela,*



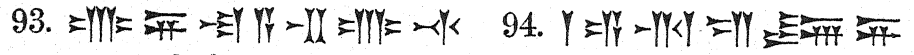
Ninip Nusku Nergal Ili rabati beli ya
Ninip, Nasku, and Nergal, *the great Gods my lords,*



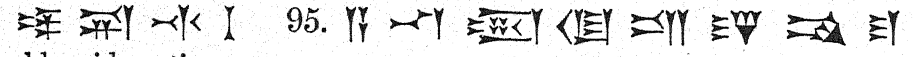
e - mur va ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya
he saw; and *submitted to my yoke.*



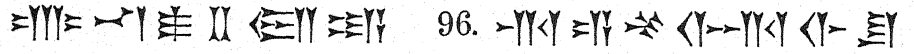
as - su ba - laḳ napis - ti su ub - na - a su ip - ta - a
To preserve his life, he offered his hand,



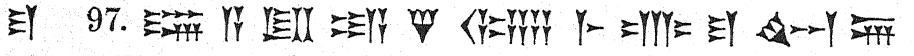
u - zal - la - a bel - u - ti E - ri - ṣi - in - ni
and submitted to my dominion. *Erisinni*



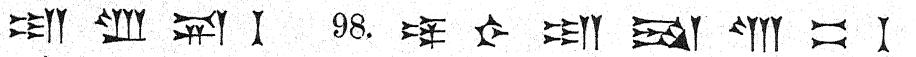
ablu ridu - ti su a - na Ninua is - pur - av - va
his eldest son, *to Nineveh he sent, and*



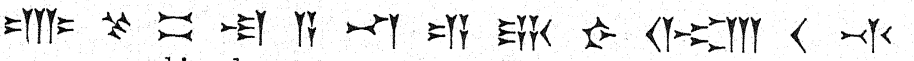
u - na - as - siq sepi ya re - e - mu ar - si su
kissed my feet. *Favour I granted him,*



va a - mir ya sa salim - mi u - ma - hi - ir
and *my messenger for an alliance I sent*

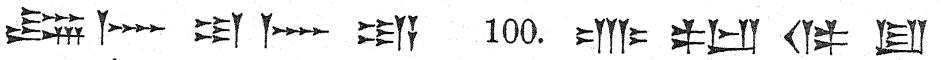


ṣi - ru - us - su bintu ṣi - it lib - bi su
to him. *The daughter proceeding from his body,*



u - se - bi - la a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti
he sent for a concubine.


99. ma - da - at - ta su maḥ - ri - tu sa ina tir - ṣi
The former tribute, which in the time of


ṣarri abi ya 100. u - sab - di - lu
the kings my fathers, they had broken off:

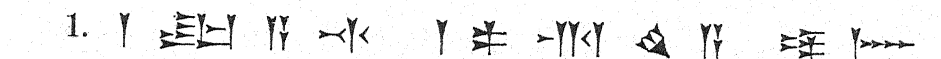

is - su - u - ni a - di maḥ - ri ya 101. 30 susi
he had brought to my presence. Thirty horses,


eli ma - da - (at) - ti su maḥ - ri - ti u - rad - di va
beside the former tribute, I added and

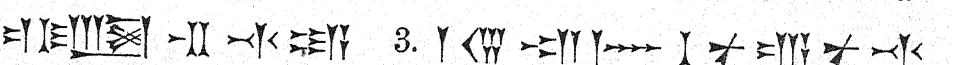

102. e - mid ṣu ina im - mi su va Bi - ri - iz - ḫa - ad - ri
fixed on him. In those days also, Biriz-hadri


niru sa Mad - ai
a chief of Media,

Column IV.


1. Ṣar - a - ti Pa - ri - za - a abli
Sariti and Pariza, sons of


Ga - (a) - gi 2. niru Ṣa - ḫi sa iz - lu - u
Gog, a chief of the Saka (Scythians) who had thrown off


niri belu - ti ya 3. 75 alani su-nu dan-nu - ti
the yoke of my dominion, seventy-five of their strong cities



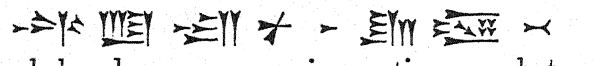
ak - su - ud as - lu - la sal - lat ṣun

I took, I carried off their spoil:

4. 

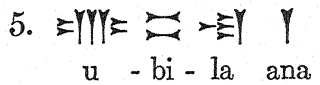
sa - a - tu - nu

themselves



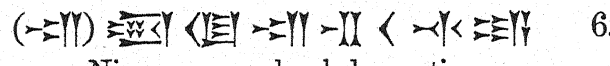
bal - ḍu - ṣu - nu ina qati aẓ - bat

alive, in hand I took,

5. 

u - bi - la ana

and brought to



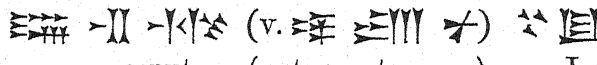
Ninua alu bel - u - ti ya

Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

6. 

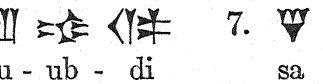
Ilu - da - ri - a

Iludaria



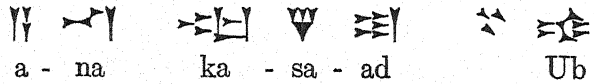
sanut (v. tur - ta - nu) Lu - ub - di

prefect (v. tartan) of Lubdu,

7. 

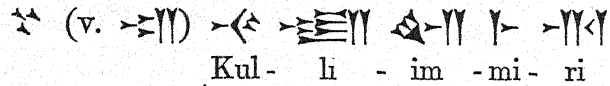
sa

who



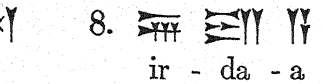
a - na ka - sa - ad Ub - bu - um - mi va

to capture Ubbummi and



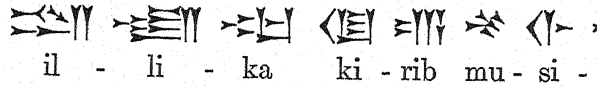
Kul - li - im - mi - ri

Kullimmir,

8. 

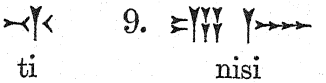
ir - da - a

descended



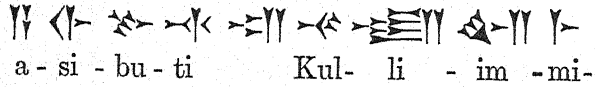
il - li - ka ki - rib mu - si - ti

and went in the night.

9. 

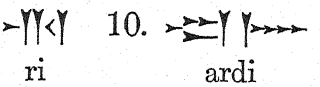
nisi

The people



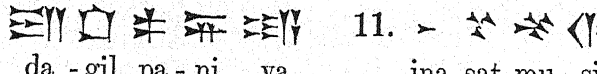
a - si - bu - ti Kul - li - im - mi - ri

dwelling in Kullimmir,

10. 

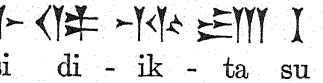
ardi

tributaries,



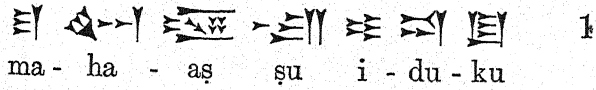
da - gil pa - ni ya

dependent on me;

11. 

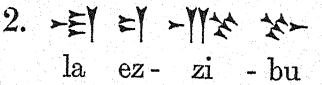
ina sat mu - si di - ik - ta su

in the middle of the night his



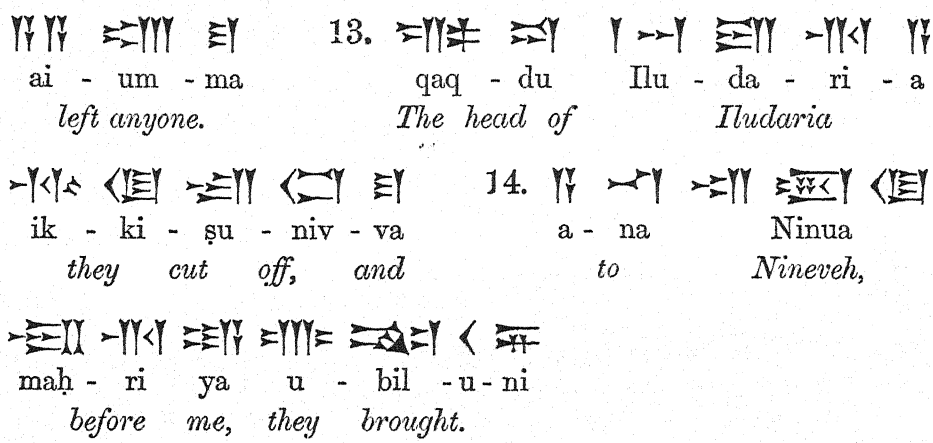
ma - ha - aṣ ṣu i - du - ku

numerous army slew,

12. 

la ez - zi - bu

and there was not



The differences between the texts of Cylinders A and B regarding this expedition principally rise from Cylinder B giving a more minute account of the events, and supplying some points omitted on Cylinder A. It appears from Cylinder B that the principal battle with the Mannians was fought before Assurbanipal went in person to Minni. After the victory of his generals, Assurbanipal himself entered Minni, and ravaged the country. The details of the restoration of territory to Assyria, the conquest of the Median chief Birizḥadri, and the sons of Gagi the Sakhian or Scythian, and the defeat and death of Iludari; are additions in Cylinder B. Gagi resembles the גוג of Ezekiel. The city of Lubdu, of which Iludaria was governor, revolted once before in the reign of Shalmaneser II, in B.C. 820.

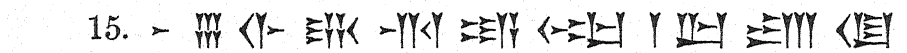
PART VII.

The War with Urtaki, King of Elam.

TEXTS.

The texts of the war with Urtaki are Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 15 to 83, and a fragment of a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 1139.

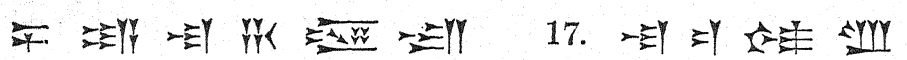
Cylinder B, Column IV, Lines 15 to 83.



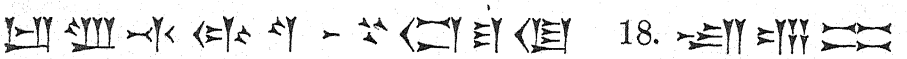
15. Ina gar - ri ya eli Ur - ta - ki
In my sixth expedition, against Urtaki



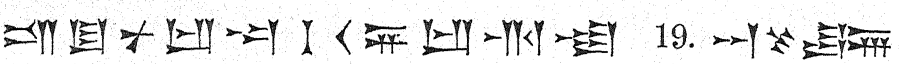
ṣar Elam 16. lu - u al - lik sa dabtu abi
king of Elam, I went; who the benefits of the father



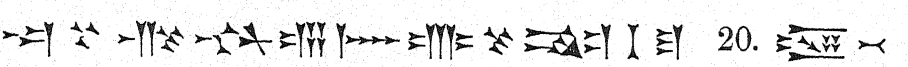
bani ya la ḫa - aṣ - ṣu 17. la iẓ - ẓu - ru
my begetter disregarded, and had not heeded



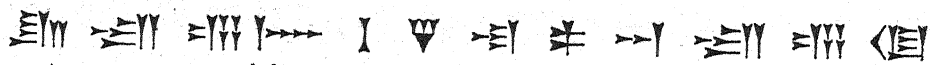
ip - ru - ti ul - tu ina Elam 18. ṣu - un - qu
the famine. When in Elam a drought

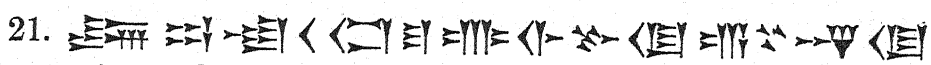


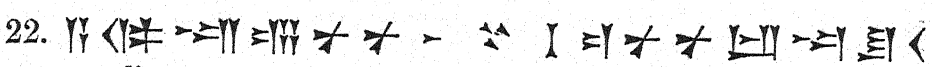
is - ku-nu ib - ba - su-u- ni ip - ri - tu 19. miri
took place, there was a famine. Corn



ba - laḳ napis- ti nisi u - se - bil su va 20. aẓ - bat
to preserve the lives of the people, I sent him, and took

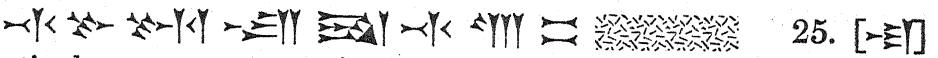

qat ṣu nisi su sa la pa - an ṣu - un - ki
his hand. His people, who from the face of the drought

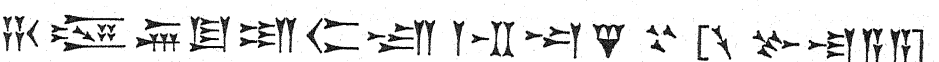
21. 
in - nab tu - u - niv - va u - si - bu ki - rib Assur
fled, and dwelt in Assyria,

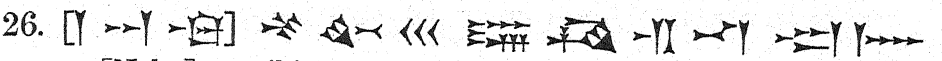
22. 
a - di zu - un - nu - nu ina mati su iz - nu - nu ib - ba - su - u
until the rain in his country rained, and there were

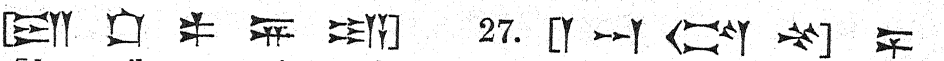

sibirru nisi sa - a - tu - nu sa ina mati ya
crops: those people, who in my country


ib - lu - ḍu u - se - bil su va Elam - ai sa
were preserved, I sent to him, and the Elamite; who

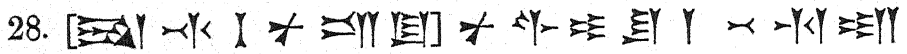

ti - bu - uṣ - ṣu it - ti lib - bi * * * * [la]
*his invasion, with heart * * * * [did not]*


ḥa - aṣ - ṣa ku - ẓi - lat ṣu Bel - ba - sa [Gam - bu - la - ai]
regard his good. Belbasa the [Gambulian,]

26. 
[Nabu] - zikir - esses tig - en - na ardi
[Nebo] zikiresses the tigenna tributaries

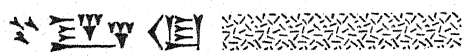

[da - gil pa - ni ya] 27. [Maruduk - zikir] - ibni
[dependent on me,] [Merodach zikir] ibni

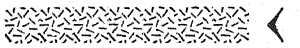

ummāti sa Ur - ta - ki [ṣar Elam]
general of Urtaki [king of Elam,]

28. 

[it - ti su-nu is -ku]-nu pi - i su ana mit- ḫu - ẓi

[with them] had set his face; to make war on



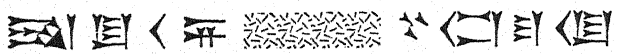
29. 

Akkad * * * * * *

Akkad. * * * * * *

* * * * * * va

* * * * * * *and*



30. 

id - ku - u - ni * * * * Elam

had gathered * * * * *Elam*

* * * * *

* * * * *

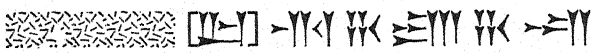


31. 

32. 

ak - ru -su * * * * * id - ka - a qa - bal su

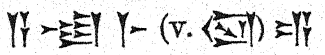
* * * * * * * * * *gathered* *within it*

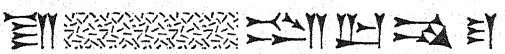


33. 

* * * * * ur - ri -ḫa ta -ḫa- zu a * * * * *

* * * * * *he set about fighting.* * * * * * *

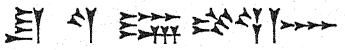


34. 

a - tu -me (v. tum) - e sa * * * * * il -lik - av -va

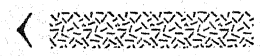
I was alarmed(?) * * * * * * *he came and*

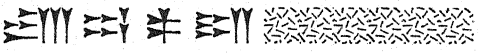
35. 

36. 

ul as * * * * * * * * su -par nisi ẓirai

* * * * * * * * * * *concerning the men of the desert*



37. 

va * * * * * is - ta -nap - pa - ra * * * * *

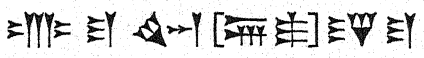
and * * * * * *he sent* * * * * *

38. 

39. 

a - na a - mar ṣar * * * * * a - mir ya

to see the king of * * * * * *my envoy*



40. 

u -ma- ḫi - [ir as]-pur va il - lik i - tu - [ur] va

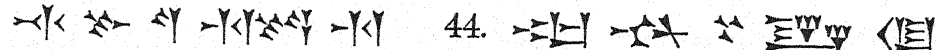
I commanded, I sent, and *he went. He returned, and*


41. ha-an-a-ti ka-ai-ma-[nu va] 42. u-sa-an-na-a

this was confirmed, and he repeated to


ya-[a-ti] 43. um-ma E-la-mu-u kima

me, thus: "The Elamites like


ti-bu-ut aribi 44. ka-tim Akkad

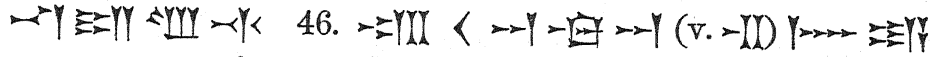
a flight of locusts, overspreading Akkad


ka-ti-im(?) sa ṣi-ir Bab-ili

cover(?), over against Babylon


45. us-man-nu sa-kin va na-di ma-dak-tu a-na

the camp is fixed and fortifications are raised." To


na-ra-ru-ti 46. Bel va Nabu Il (v. bel)-i ya

the aid of Bel and Nebo, my Gods (v. lords)


su ap-tal-la-ḫu Ilu-uṣ-ṣu-un 47. zabi taḫaz ya

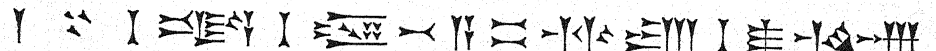
whom, I worshipped their divinity: my men of war


ad-ke-e va aẓ-ba-ta mur-ra-nu 48. a-lak

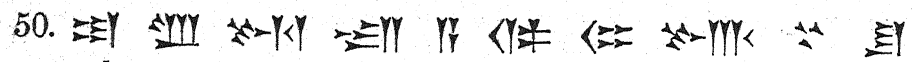
I gathered, and I took the march. The progress of


gar-ri ya is-mi va ḫat-tu iṣ-ḫup su va 49. i-tur

my expedition he heard, and fear overwhelmed him, and he returned


ana mati su arku su aẓ-bat a-bi-ik-ta su as-kun

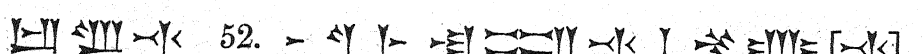
to his country. After him I took [the road], his overthrow I accomplished,

50. 

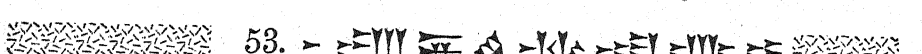
ad - ru - uṣ ṣu a - di me - ṣir mati su
and drove him to the frontier of his country.

51. 

Ur - ta - ki ṣar Elam sa la iẓ - ẓu - ru
Urtaki king of Elam, who had not heeded



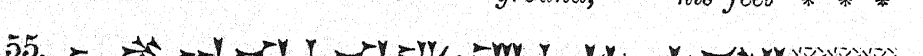
ip - ru - ti ina im - mi la sim - ti su mu - u - [ti]
the famine; in the day of his misfortune, death



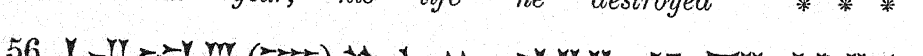
* * * * * ina ta - ni - ḫi ik - tu - u i * * *
[*desired (?)*] *In lamentation, he beat* * * *

54. 

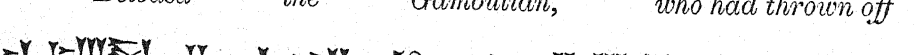
ina qaq - qar (v. qa - ri) ba - la - di sepi su * * *
on the level ground, his feet * * *

55. 

ina sanat an - na su na - pis - ta su iq - ti - il * * *
In that year, his life he destroyed * * *

56. 

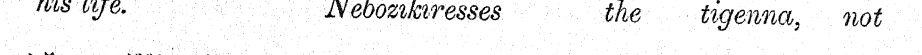
Bel - ba - sa Gam - bu - la - ai sa iz - lu - u
Belbasa the Gambulian, who had thrown off



niru belu - ti ya ina ni - sik kisti is - ta - kan
the yoke of my dominion, hiding in concealment, he passed

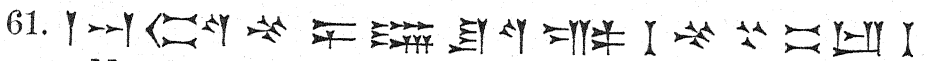


na - pis - tu Nabu - zikir - esses tig - en - na la
his life. Nebozikiresses the tigenna, not

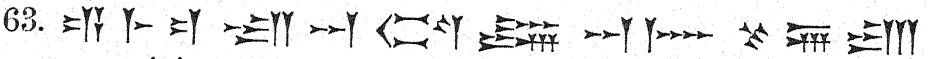


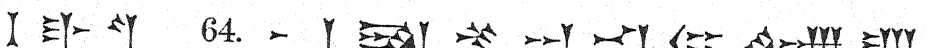
na - ẓir a - de - e is - si a - ga - nu
keeping the covenant, was overthrown by the


bil - la - ai ma - lu - u - ti (v. maluti)
lords strong and mighty.

61. 
Maruduk -zikir-ibni ummati su mu-sad-bi - ib su
Merodachzikiribni his general, his adviser,

62. 
sa limut - tu u - sak - si - du a - na Ur - ta - ki
who, evil caused to happen to Urtaki:

63. 
e - mi - iṣ ṣu Maruduk ṣar Ili se - er - ta
Merodach king of the Gods, fixed on him his great


su rab - tu ina he - ed sanat an - na me - eḥ - rit
fear. For one year in presence of each


a - ḥa - mis is - ku - nu na - pis - tu lib - bi Assur
other, they passed their lives. The heart of Assur


ag - gu ul i - nu - uḥ su - nu - ti ul ip - suḥ
vengeful, let them not rest, and did not spare


su - nu - ti ka - bat - ti Istar sa u - tag - gil an - ni
them. The mighty Goddess who protected me,

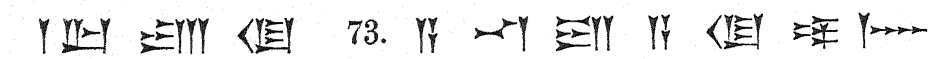

pal - e ṣaru - ti su is - ki - pu bil - lut
the time of his kingdom ended, and the dominion


Elam u - raq - qu - u sa - num - ma arku
of Elam passed to another. Afterwards



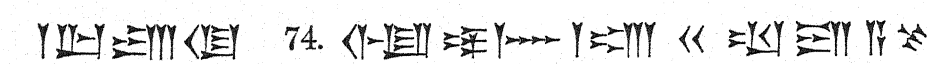
Te - um -man tam-sil gal - lu 72. u -sib ina kuzzu

Teumman like an evil spirit, sat on the throne of



Ur - ta - ki 73. a - na da - a - ki abli

Urtaki; to slay the sons of



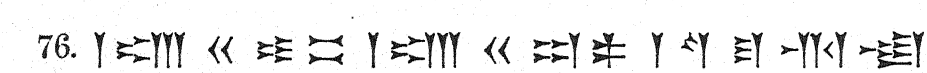
Ur - ta - ki 74. va abli Um -man- al - da -a-se

Urtaki, and the sons of Ummanaldas



75. aḫu Ur - ta - ki is - te - ni - ha - a limut

the brother of Urtaki, he devised evil.



76. Um -man- i -gas Um -man-ap -pa Tam - ma- ri - tu

Ummanigas, Ummanappa and Tammarit,



77. abli Ur - ta - ki ṣar Elam

sons of Urtaki king of Elam,



78. Ku-dur- ru Pa- ru - u abli Um-man- al - da -se

Kudurru and Paru, sons of Ummanaldas,



79. ṣar a - lik pa - ni Ur - ta - ki 80. va 60

the king preceding Urtaki, and sixty of



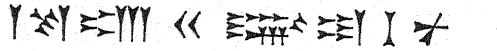
ziri ṣarri ina la mi - ni zabi mitpanu 81. abli

the seed royal, innumerable bow-men and children

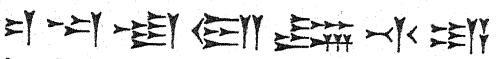


ba - ne - e sa Elam 82. sa la pa - an da - a - ki

begotten in Elam; who from the face of the massacre

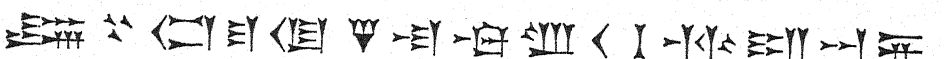

Te - um -man aḫu abu su-nu
of Teumman their uncle;

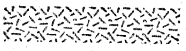
83. 
in -nab- tu - u- niv - va
fled, and took


iẓ - ba - tu niru ṣaru - ti ya
the yoke of my kingdom.

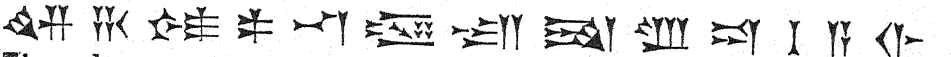
Extract from K, 2867, Variant Passage for Cylinder B, Column IV, Lines 30 to 70.

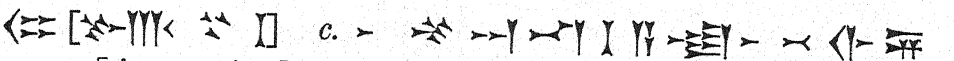
a. 
I - di - nu de - e - ni it - ti Ur - ta - ki
They delivered judgment against Urtaki

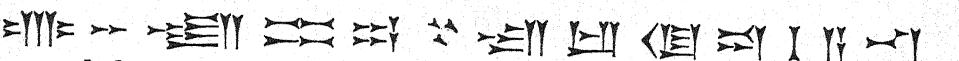

ṣar Elam sa la ag - ru - u su ig - ra an - ni
king of Elam; who [when] I did not make war with him, made war

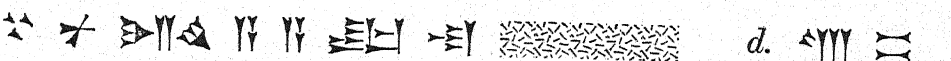

* * * *
*with me * **

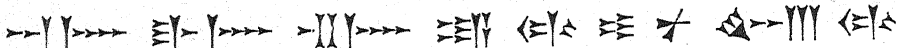
b. 
ke - e - mu - u a abikta su is ku - nu
For me, his overthrow they accomplished,


im - ḫa - ẓu pa - na - aṣ - ẓu id - ru - du su a - di
struck him in the face, and drove him to the


me - [ṣir mati su] *c.* ina sanat an - na su-a - tu ina mit-pan-ni
frontier of [his country]. In that year, with a bow(?) they

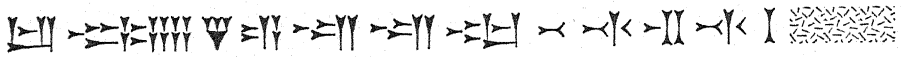

u - ḫal - li - qu nap - sat ṣu ip - ki - du su a - na
destroyed his life, and they sent him to


mat-nu - de - a a - sar la * * * * *d.* lib - bi
Hades, the place none [return from]. The hearts of the



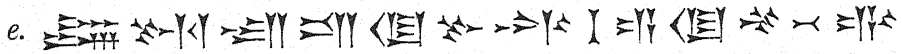
Ili rabati beli ya ul i-nu- uḥ ul

great Gods my lords, did not rest, did not



ip- suḥ sa e - zu - zu ka -bat- ti belu- ti su * * *

*spare. The strong and mighty one, his dominion * * *

e. 

ṣar - uṣ ṣu is - ki - pu pal su e - ki - mu bil- lut

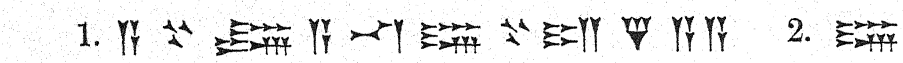
his kingdom ended, and his days took away. The dominion



Elam u -raq- qu sa - num -[ma]

of Elam passed to another.

K, 1139.

1. 

A-mat ṣaru a - na nisi Ra - sa - ai nisi

The will of the king, to the men of Rasa, the sea



tamti va Ne - ru - u - ti salim- mi ya - a - si

coast and the Neruti. My salutation



lib - ba ku - nu lu - u dabtu ku-nu- si me - nam -ma

to your hearts, may benefits to you be counted.

5. 

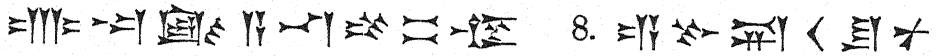
a - na - ku i - na ra - a - me sa Elam

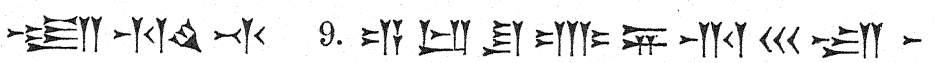
I in the prosperity [of Elam

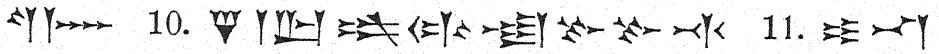
6. 

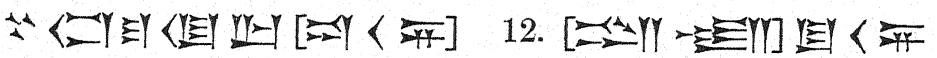
a - ra - am en dabti ya va bilu - ti ya ul

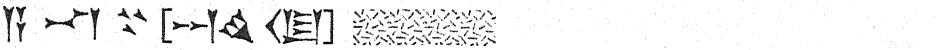
rejoiced, my good, and my dominion, they

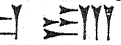
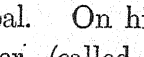

u - ba - hu a - na gab - bi dabtu 8. e - bu - us - u su - nu
did not seek. For all the good done to them,


li - mut - ti 9. e - ep - su - u - ni re - es - ṣu ina
evil they committed. First, in the


immi 10. sa Ur - tak ul - tu bu - bu - ti 11. i - na
days of Urtak; from the famine in


Elam ur - [du - u - ni] 12. [il - li] - ku - u - ni
Elam they descended(?) and went


a - na [Assur] * * * *
to [Assyria] * * * *

This war with Urtaki, commenced a series of contests with Elam, which extended through a large part of the reign of Assurbanipal. During the reign of Esarhaddon Ummanaldas I, king of Elam, died, and was succeeded by his brother Urtaki or Urtak, called on K, 1541, , Ur-ta-gu; who was on friendly terms with Esarhaddon. Some time after the accession of Assurbanipal and his brother Saulmugina, Assurbanipal befriended the Elamite monarch during a famine, and afterwards Urtaki disregarding this allowed his general Merodachzikiribni to persuade him into an invasion of Babylonia; where, after ravaging the country, he was repulsed by Assurbanipal. On his death within a year of this event Teumman, his brother (called on K, 1009, , Tu-ummau), ascended the Elamite throne. Fearing Teumman would murder them, to secure the succession to the throne for his own sons; the two sons of Ummanaldas, and three sons of Urtaki, with a numerous body of adherents, fled to Assyria.

PART VIII.

The War with Teumman King of Elam, and the Conquest of Gambuli.

TEXTS.

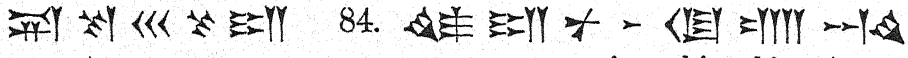
The texts relating to this expedition are Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 83, to col. iv, line 5; Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 84, to col. vi, line 92; an extract from K, 2652; and a series of epigraphs placed over the sculptured scenes representing this war.

Cylinder A, Column III, Line 83, to Column IV, Line 5.



I - na ḫamsi gar - ri ya a - na Elam

In my fifth expedition, to Elam



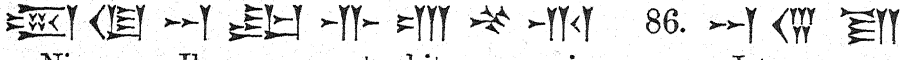
us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu ina ki - bit Assur

I directed the march. By the command of Assur,



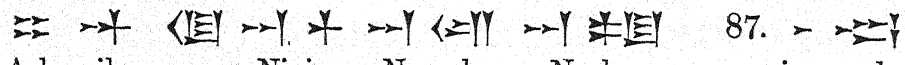
Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa

Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of



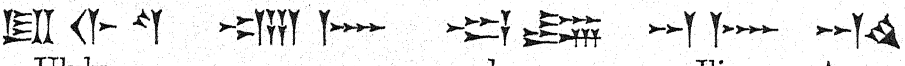
Ninua Il ṣar - rat kit - mu - ri Istar sa

Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Isthar of



Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku ina araḫ

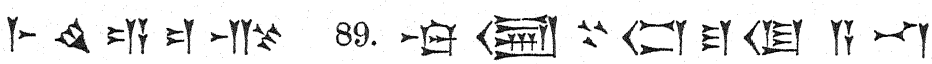
Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku; in the month

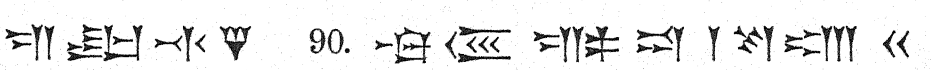


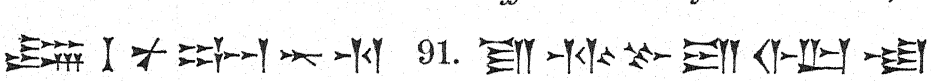
Ululu araḫ ṣar Ili Assur

Elul, the month of the king of the Gods, Assur,

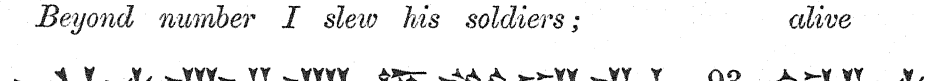
88. 
abu Ili rubu nan - nur ki - ma ti - ib
the father of the Gods, the glorious prince: like the shock of a

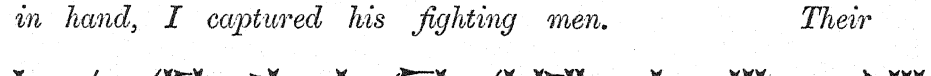

mi - ḫe - e iz - zi ak - tum Elam a - na
terrible storm, I overwhelmed Elam, through

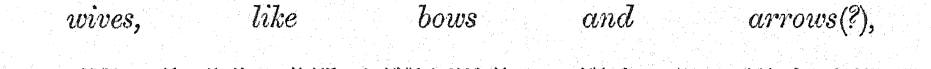

ṣi - ḫir - ti sa ak - kiṣ qaqadu Te - um - man
its extent. I cut off the head of Teumman,

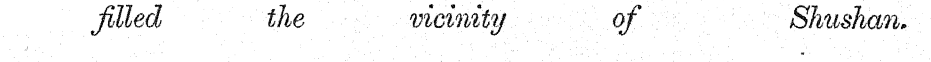

ṣar su-nu mul - tar - ḫu sa ik - bu - da limut - tu
their wicked king; who devised evil.

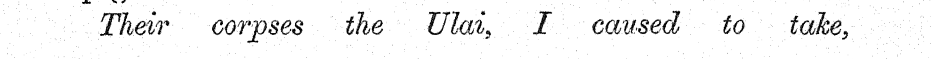

ina la mi - ni a - duk qu - ra - di su bal - ḍu - ṣun
Beyond number I slew his soldiers; alive

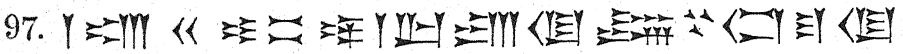

ina qa - ti u - ẓa - bit mun - taḫ - ẓe - e su nin - a - ti
in hand, I captured his fighting men. Their


su - nu ki - ma mitpani va iz - u - kir
wives, like bows and arrows(?),


u - ma - al - la - a ta - mir (v. mar) - ti Su - sa - an
filled the vicinity of Shushan.


pagari su - nu U - la - ai u - sar - di
Their corpses the Ulai, I caused to take,


me sa az - ru - [ub - ki] - ma na - ba - aṣ - ṣi
its waters I made to consume like chaff(?).



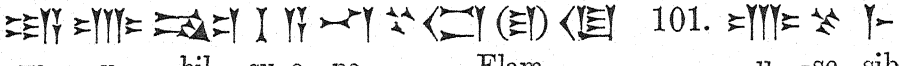
97. Um-man-i-gas ablu Ur-ta-ki ṣar Elam
Ummanigas son of Urtaki, king of Elam,



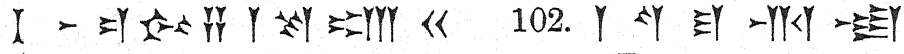
98. sa la pa-an Te-um-man a-na Assur
who from the face of Teumman to Assyria



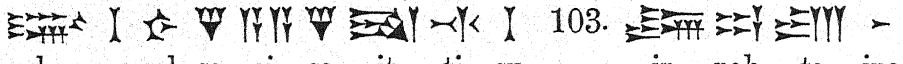
99. in-nab-ta iṣ-ba-tu niri ya 100. it-ti
fled, and had taken my yoke; with



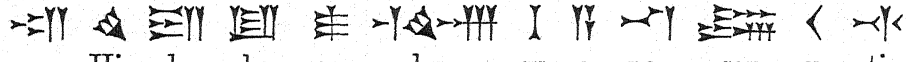
ya u-bil su a-na Elam 101. u-se-sib
me I brought him to Elam. I seated



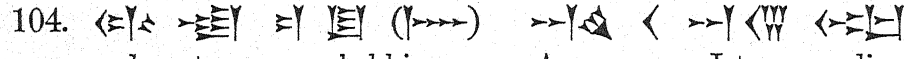
sú ina kuzzu Te-um-man 102. Tam-ma-ri-tu
him on the throne of Teumman. Tammarit



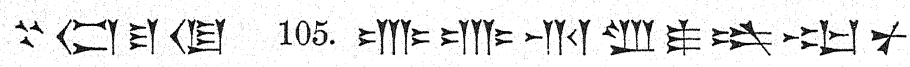
aḫu su sal-sa-ai sa it-ti su 103. in-nab-ta ina
his third brother, who with him fled; in



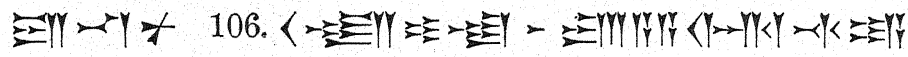
Ḫi-da-lu as-kun su a-na ṣar-u-ti
Hidalu I appointed to the kingdom.



104. ul-tu kakki Assur va Istar eli
Then the servants of Assur and Ishtar, over



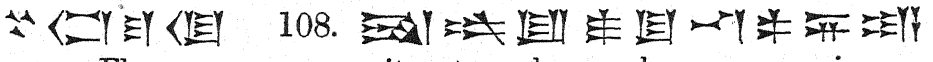
Elam 105. u-sam-ri-ru as-tak-ka-nu
Elam I caused to march; I acquired



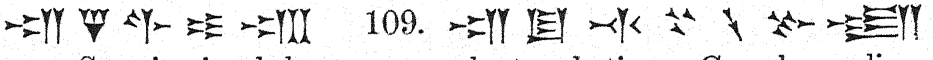
da-na-nu 106. va li-i-tu ina ta-ay-ar-ti ya
power and glory. On my return



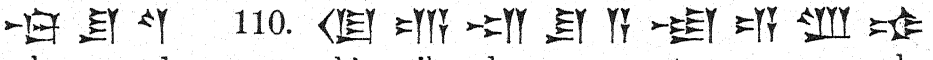
107. eli Du - na - nu Gam - bu - li - ai sa a - na
against Dunanu the Gambulian, who to



Elam 108. it - tag - lu as - ku - na pa - ni ya
Elam trusted; I set my face.



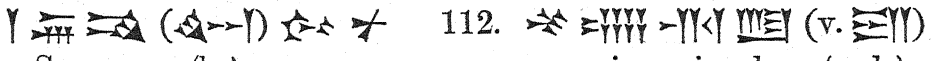
Sa - pi - i - bel 109. alu tugul - ti Gam - bu - li
Sapibel, the fortified city of Gambuli,



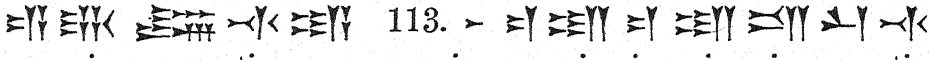
ak - su - ud 110. ki - rib alu su - a - tu e - ru - ub
I took; into that city I entered,



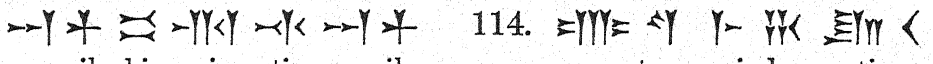
nisi su az - lis 111. u - qu - uḫ Du - na - nu
its people entirely I carried off. Dunanu and



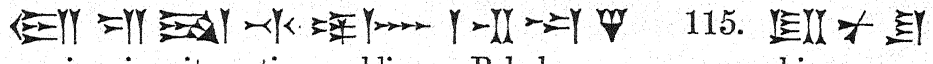
Ṣa - am - (ha) - gu - nu 112. mu - nir - ri - ḍu (v. ḍa)
Samgunu, opposers of the



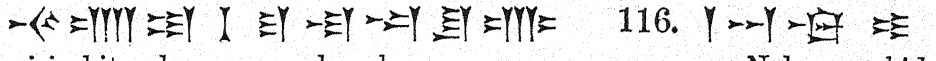
e - pis ṣaru - ti ya 113. ina ẓi - iẓ - ẓi is - qa - ti
work of my kingdom, in strong fetters of



parzil bi - ri - ti parzil 114. u - tam - mi - ḫa qati va
iron, and bonds of iron, I bound their hands and



sepi ṣi - it - ti abli Bel - ba - sa 115. kin - nu su
feet. The rest of the sons of Belbasa, his kin, the



ziri bit abu su ma - la ba - su - u 116. Nabu - nahid
seed of his father's house, all there were, Nabonidus and


Bel - edir abli Nabu - zikir - esses
Beledir, sons of Nebozikiresses

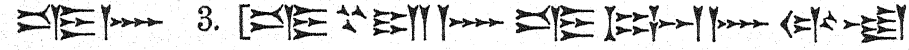
117. 
tig - en - na va nir - pad - du (v. da) - i
the tigenna, and the attendants of the

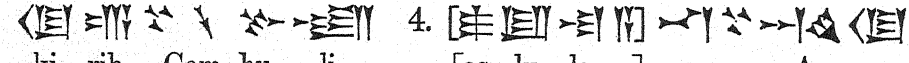

abi ba - ni su - nu
father their begetter;

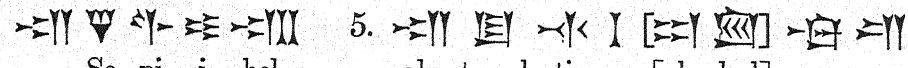
Column IV.

1. 
it - ti * * * * * - bi Te - be - e
*with the * * * * * and Tebe,*

2. 
nisi Gam - bu - li alpi ṣeni
people of Gambuli, oxen, sheep,

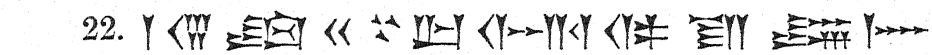

imiri susi pare ul - tu
asses, horses, and mules; from


ki - rib Gam - bu - li [as - lu - la a] - na Assur
the midst of Gambuli, [I carried off] to Assyria.


Sa - pi - i - bel alu tugul - ti su [ab - bul] ag - gur
Sapibel, his fortified city, [I pulled down], destroyed,

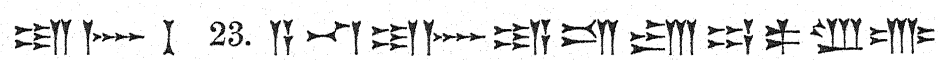

ina me us - ḫam - miḍ
and into the waters I turned.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN X, LINES 22 TO 30.



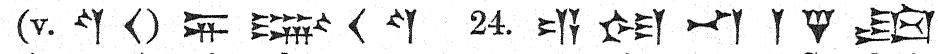
Ṣa - duri ṣar Ur - ar - di sa ṣarri

Saduri, king of Ararat; who the kings



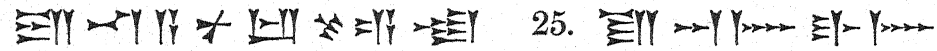
abi su a - na abi ya is - ta -nap-pa - ru - u

his fathers to my fathers had sent concerning the



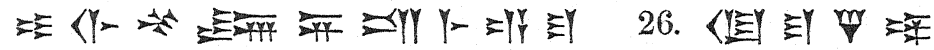
(v. par-u) - ni aḫu - u - ut e - nin - na Ṣa - duri

brotherhood. Again, Saduri,



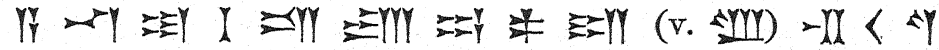
da - na - a - nu ip - se- e - tu sa Ili rabati

the mighty things for which the great Gods



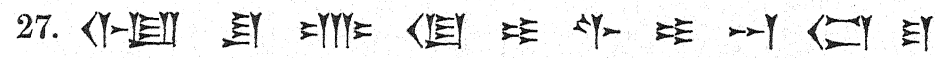
i - si - mu in - ni is -me- e va ki -ma sa ablu

had caused renown to me, heard, and like a son to



a - na abi su is - ta - nap - pa - ra (v. ru) bel - u - ut

his father, he sent concerning the dominion;



va su - u ki - i pi - i an - nim - ma

and he by word of mouth to me



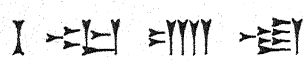
is - ta -nap - pa- ra um -ma lu -u salim -mu a - na

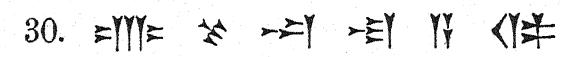
sent thus: "Salutation to the

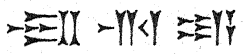


ṣar beli ya pal - ḫi - is kan - sis ta - mar - ta

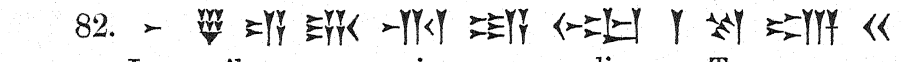
king my lord." Reverently and submissively his numerous


su ka - bit - tu
presents

30. 
u - se - ba - la a - di
he sent to

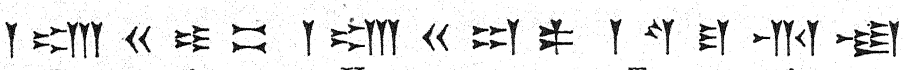

mah - ri ya
my presence.

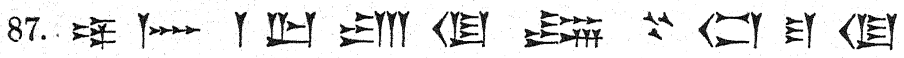
CYLINDER B, COLUMN IV, LINES 84, TO COLUMN VI, LINE 92.

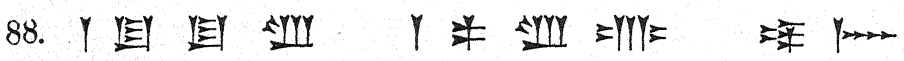
82. 
Ina ṣibe gar - ri ya eli Te - um -man
In my seventh expedition against Teumman

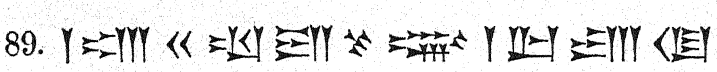
85. 
ṣar Elam lu - u al - lik
king of Elam I went;

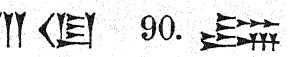
86. 
sa eli
who against


Um -man- i -gas Um -man- ap - pa Tam-ma- ri - tu
Ummanigas, Ummanappa, and Tammaritu,

87. 
abli Ur - ta - ki ṣar Elam
sons of Urtaki, king of Elam,

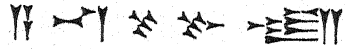
88. 
Ku - dur - ru Pa - ru - u abli
Kudurru and Paru, sons of

89. 
Um -man- al - da -se aḫu Ur - ta - ki

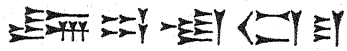
90. 
ṣar
Ummanaldasi, brother of Urtaki, king of



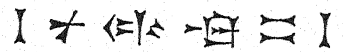
91. 
Elam nisi ṣirati su is - ta -nap-pa - ra
Elam; his great men sent,

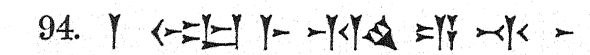

a - na se - bu - li
for the surrender of

92. 
nisi sa - a - tu - nu sa
these men, who


in -nab- tu - niv -va
had fled and

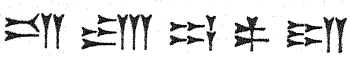
93. 
iṣ - ba - tu niri ya se - bul
taken my yoke. Their surrender


su-nu ul ag - bi su
I did not grant him.

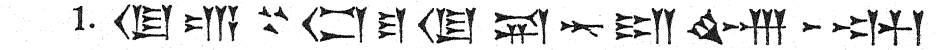
94. 
ana eli mi - mut - e - ti ina
Concerning the demands, by the

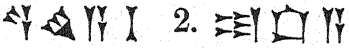

qati Um - ba - da - ra - a
hand of Umbadara

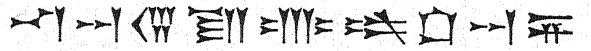
95. 
va Nabu - damiq
and Nebodamiq

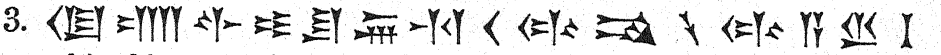

is - ta -nap- pa - ra araḫ - u
he sent a month.

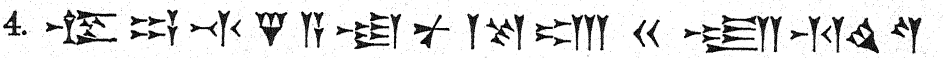
Column V.

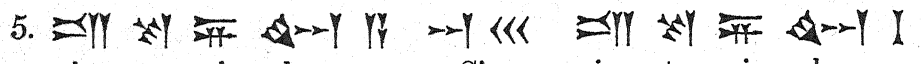
1. 
Ki - rib Elam us - tar - ra - aḫ ina puḫur
In the midst of Elam he set himself to work in gathering

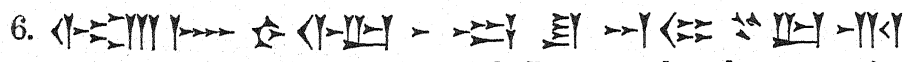

umman su
his army.

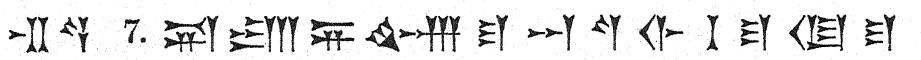
2. 
ad -gil a - na Istar sa u - tag - gil an - ni
I trusted to Ishtar, who protects me.

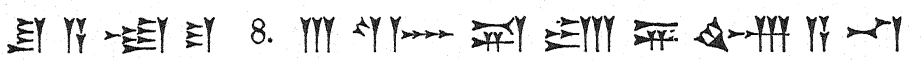
3. 
ki - bit pi - i su ṣa - ḫu - u ul am -gar ul a - din su
The demand of his vile mouth I did not accede to, I did not give him

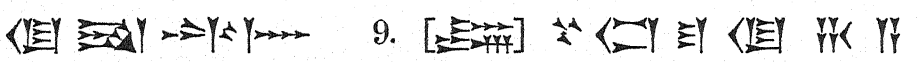
4. 
mun -nab- ti sa - a - tu - nu Te - um - man li - mut - tu
those fugitives. Teumman devised

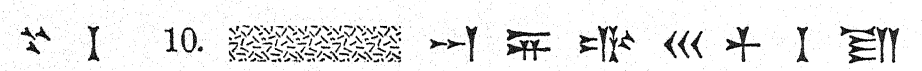
5. 
is - te - ni - ha - a Sin is - te - ni - ha su
evil; *Sin* *devised against him*

6. 
* * * * limutti ina araḫ Dūza atalu lat - tur - ri
omens of evil; in the month Tammuz, the darkness of the morning


**** us - ta - ni - iḫ va sam - si ṣit va ki - ma
watch *he caused to retard the rising sun; and like*

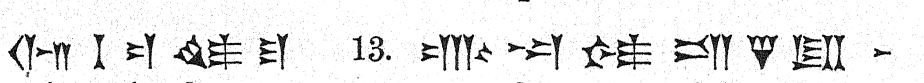

su - a - tu va 3 immi us - ta - ni - iḫ a - na
this also *three days he caused to retard;* *to the*

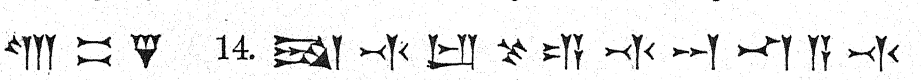

ki - it pali [ṣar] Elam uḫalliq
end (?) *that (?)* *"the [king] of Elam shall be destroyed,*


mata su * * * * an - ni puluk uzzi su sa
his country * * * *" *this she selected (?) in her power, which*


la in - ni - nu - u ina im - mi su va me - eḫ - ru
changed not. *In those days, before*


im - ḫar su va saput ṣu uq - ta - qum va
she received him, *her lips cursed, and*

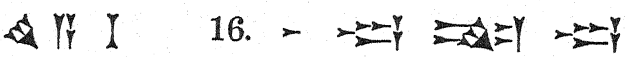

eni su iṣ - ḫar va ga - ba - ẓu is - sa - kin ina
her eyes flamed, and *vengeance was fixed in her*


lib - bi sa it - ti ip - se - e - ti an - na - a - ti
heart. *About these things, which*

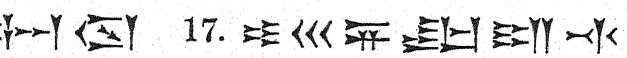

sa Assur va Istar
Assur and Ishtar

15. 
e - pu -su- us ul i - ba - as
did to him, he knew not;

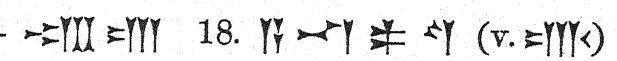

id - ka - a umman su
he gathered his army.

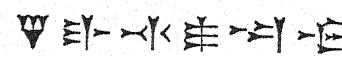
16. 
ina araḥ Abu araḥ
In the month Ab, the month

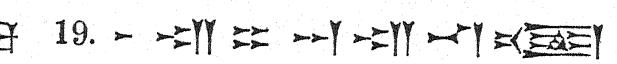

na - an - ḥar - ti kakab Bam
of the luminous Sagittarius,

17. 
i -sin- ni sar - ra - ti
in the festival of the


ka - bit - ti bintu Bel
mighty queen, the daughter of Bel;

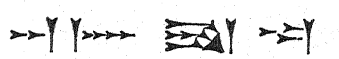
18. 
a - na pa-laḥ (v. luḥ)
to worship


sa rab - ti as - ba - ak
her greatly I sacrificed(?)

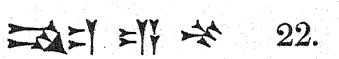
19. 
ina Arba- il alu na - ram
in Arbela, the city the delight of


lib - bi sa
her heart.

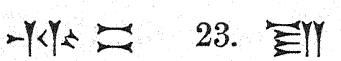
20. 
as -su ti - bu -ut Elam - e sa ba - lu
Of the invasion of the Elamite, who against


Ili it - ba - a
the Gods came;

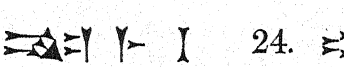
21. 
[u - sa]- an - nu - u - ni
they repeated


ḍe - e - mu
word

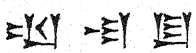
22. 
um - ma Te - um -man ki - a - am
thus: "Teumman even


ig - bi
saith

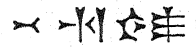
23. 
sa Istar u - sa - an - nu - u me - lik
of Ishtar," they repeated the tenor

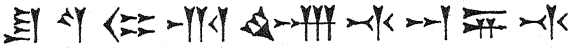

ḍe - mi su
of his words,

24. 
um - ma ul u - vas - sar a - di
thus: "I will not cease until


al - la - ku
I go

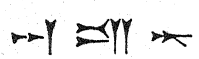
25. 
it - ti su [a - na] e - pu - su
with him [to] make


mit-ḫu - ẓu - ti
war."

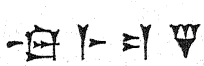
26. 
su-par me - ri - iḫ - ti an - ni - ti
Over this threat,

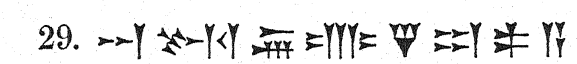

sa Te - um -man
which Teumman

27. 
ig - bu - u am - ḫar [sa] - qu - ti
had spoken; I prayed to the lofty


Is - tar
Ishtar.

28. 
a (v. az) - zi -ma a - na tar - ṣi sa
I approached to her presence,


ak -mi-iṣ sa - pal sa
I bowed under her,

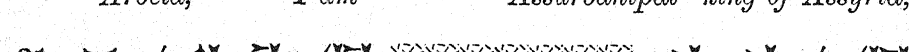
29. 
Ilu - uṣ - ṣa u -sa- ap - pa - a
her divinity I supplicated,


il - la - ka salim - ma ai
and she came to save me.

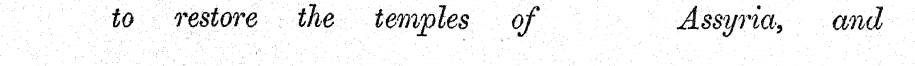
30. 
um - ma bi - lat
Thus: "Goddess of


Arba - il a - na - ku
Arbela, I am

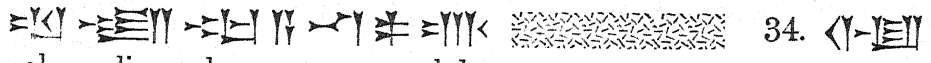

Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur
Assurbanipal king of Assyria,

31. 
bi - nu - ut qati ki * * * * * abu ba - nu - ki
*the work of thy hands * * * * * the father thy begetter,*

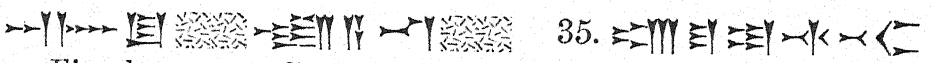
32. 
a - na ud - du - si es - re - e - ti · Assur va
to restore the temples of Assyria, and

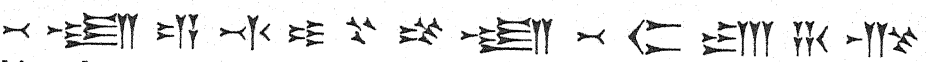

suk - lul ma - ḫa - zi Akkad * * * * * *
*adorn the cities of Akkad * * * * * *


33. a - na - ku as - re - e ki as - te - ni - ha - a
I thy courts desire,

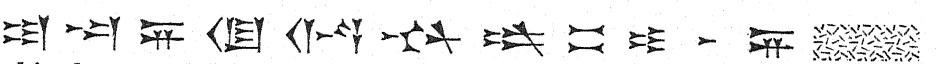

al - li - ka a - na pa - luḫ * * * * * 34. va
*I go to worship * * * * * and*

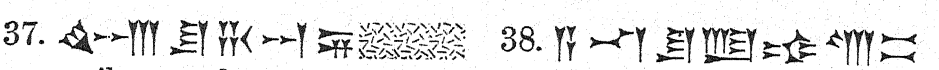

su - u Te - um - man ṣar Elam la mu - sa - kir
he, Teumman king of Elam, hater of the

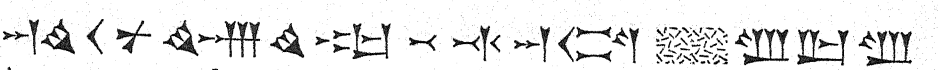

Ili ku * * li a - na * * 35. um - ma at - ti bi - lat
*Gods * * * to * * O thou Goddess*

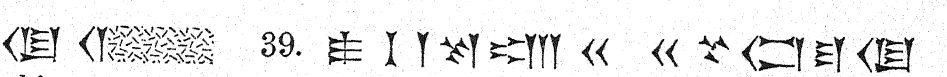

bi - le - e - ti i - mat qab - li bi - lat ta - ḫa - zi
of Goddesses, terrible in battle, Goddess of war,


ma - li - kat Ili * * * 36. sa ina ma - ḫar Assur
*queen of the Gods * * * who in the presence of Assur*

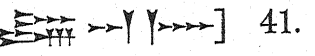

abi ba - ni ki damqati tag - bi - i ina na * * *
*the father thy begetter, speakest good in * * *

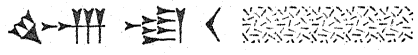

37. iḫ - su - ḫa an - ni * * * 38. a - na su - ḍu - ub lib - bi
*loved me * * * * * to make glad the heart of*


Assur va nu - uḫ - ḫi ka - bat - ti Maruduk * * ru - ur - ru
*Assur, and rejoice greatly Merodach * * * * *


ki * * * * 39. as - su Te - um - man ṣar Elam
*they * * * * Of Teumman king of Elam*

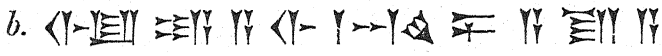
40. 
sa a - na Assur [ṣar Ili]
who to Assur [king of the Gods,]

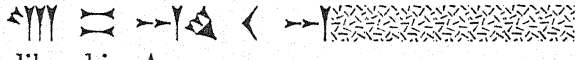
41. 
abi ba - ni ki
the father thy begetter


iḫ - tu - u * * * *
* * * * * * * *

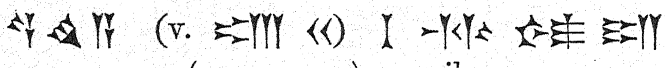
a. 
va a - na Maruduk
and to Merodach


aḫu ta - li - mi ki Ilu - tu su nam * * * *
thy good brother, his divinity * * * * * *

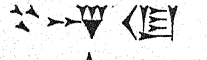
b. 
va ya - a - si Assur -bani-pal sa a - na nu- uḫ
and of me Assurbanipal, who to rejoice the

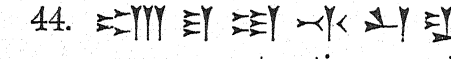

lib - bi Assur va * * * * * * * *
heart of Assur and * * * * * * *

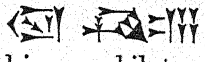
42. 
id - ka - a
he gathered

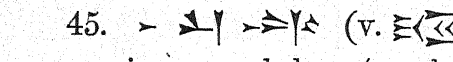

umman (v. um -man) su ik - ṣu - ra ta - ḫa - zu
his army, and prepared for war,

43. 
u - sa - ha - a - la kakki su a - na a - lak
he urges his fighting men to go to


Assur
Assyria.

44. 
um -ma at - ti qa - sit - ti Ili
Oh thou archer of the Gods,


kima bilat

45. 
ina qa - bal (v. qabal) tam - ḫa - ri
like a weight in the midst of battle,


bu - ud - di - ri su va di - kis -su mi - ḫu - u
throw him down, and crush him; tear(?)



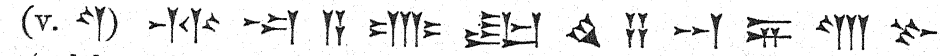
im - si - nu in - ḫi ya su - nu - hu - (u) - ti Istar

* * * * *My acceptable prayer Ishtar*



(v. Is - tar) is - me - (e) va 47. la ta - pal - luḫ

heard, and *"fear not,"*



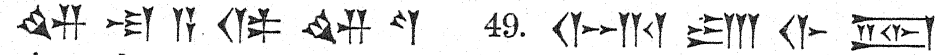
(v. laḫ) ig - ba - a u - sar - ḫi - za an - ni lib - bu

she said, she caused my heart to rejoice;



a - na ni - is qati ka sa tas - sa - a enu ka

"At the lifting up of thy hand which thou liftest, thine eyes



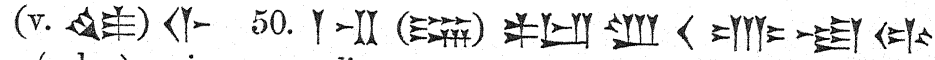
im - la - a ḍi - im - tu 49. ar - ta - si remu

shall be satisfied with the judgment. *I will grant favour."*



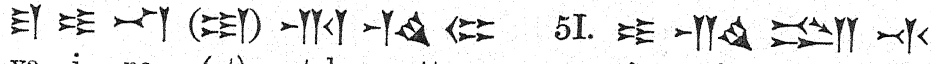
(v. re - e - mu) ina sat mu - si su - a - tu sa am - ḫu - ru

In the midst of that night when I invoked



(v. ḫar) si 50. edin sap - ru - u u - tu - ul

her, *then a seer slept,*



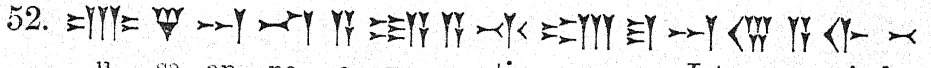
va i - na - (at) - tal suttu 51. i - gi - il - ti

and dreamed a remarkable dream,



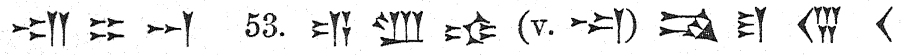
va tap - sit mu - si Istar u - sap - ru - u su

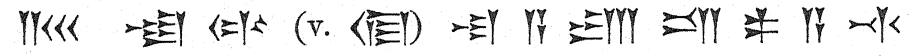
and during the night Ishtar spoke to him, and he

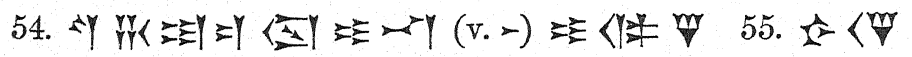


52. u - sa - an - na - a ya - a - ti um - ma Istar a - si - bat

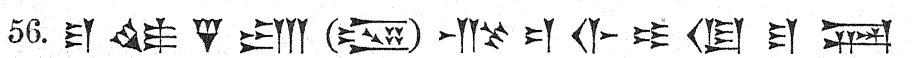
repeated it to me. *Thus: "Ishtar dwelling in*


Arba - il 53. e - ru - ub (v. ba) - av - va imnu va
Arbela, *entered,* *and* *right* *and*

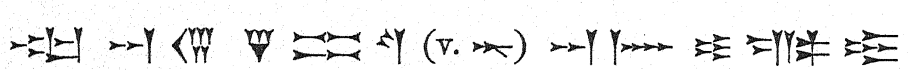

sumili tu - ul (v. tul) - la - a - ta - is - pa - a - ti
left *she* *was* *surrounded* *with* *glory(?),*


tam-ḫa- at mitpanu i - na (v. ina) i - di sa 55. zal-pat
holding *a* *bow* *in* *her* *hand,* *projecting*


muz -za - ru kap - tu sa e - pis ta - ḫa - zi (v. taḫaz)
a *powerful* *arrow(?)* *on* *making* *war,*

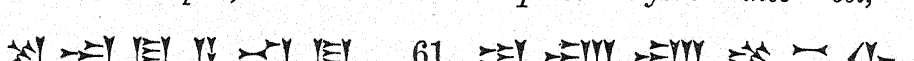

ma- ḫar sa ta - (az) - zi - iz si - i ki - ma umma
her *countenance* *was* *set.* *She* *like* *a* *mother*

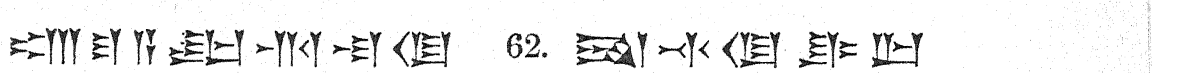

a - lit - ti i -tam-ma- a it - ti ka 58. il - ṣi
bearing, *was* *in* *pain* *with* *thee,* *she brought*

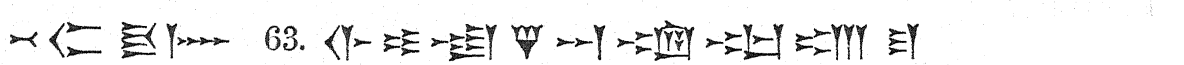

ka Istar sa - qu -ut (v. qut) Ili i - sak - kan
thee forth. *Ishtar* *exalted* *of* *the* *Gods,* *appointeth*

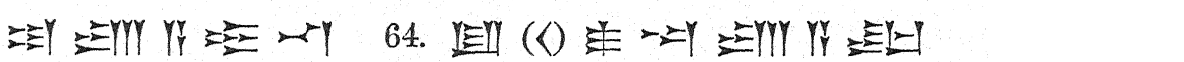

ka ḍe - e -mu 59. um -ma ta - na - da - la a - na
thee *a* *decree.* *Thus:* *'Carry* *off* *to*


e - pis sa - as - si 60. a - sar pa - nu ki sak - nu
make *spoil,* *the* *place* *before* *thee* *set,*


te - ba - ku a - na - ku 61. at - ta ta - gab - bi si
I *will* *come* *to.'* *Thou* *shalt* *say* *to* *her,*

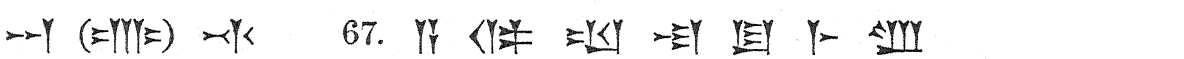

um -ma a - sar tal - la - ki 62. it - ti ki lul - lik
thus: 'The place thou goest to with thee I will go.' The

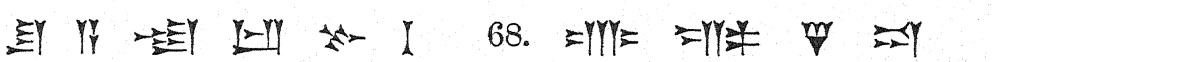

bi - lat bileti 63. si - i tu - sa - an - nak - ka um - ma
Goddess of Goddesses she repeateth to thee thus:

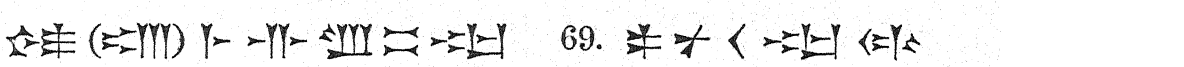

at - ta a - gan - na 64. lu - (u) as - ba - ta a - sar
'Thee I will guard, then I will rest in the place of the


mas - gan - i Nabu 65. a - kul a - ka - lu si - ti
temple of Nebo, eat food, drink

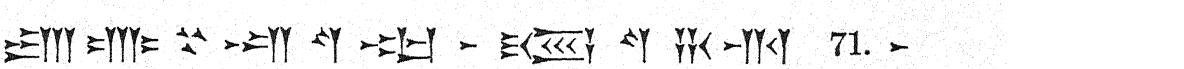

ku - ru - un - nu 66. nin - gu - ut su - kun nu - hi - id
wine, music appoint, glorify my

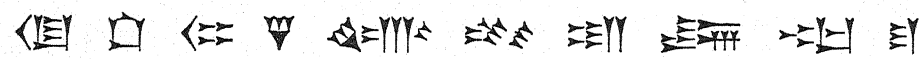

Ilu - (u) - ti 67. a - di al - la - ku sip - ru
divinity, until I go, and this

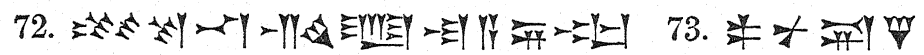

su - a - tu ip - pu - su 68. u - sak - sa - du
message shall be accomplished. I will cause thee to

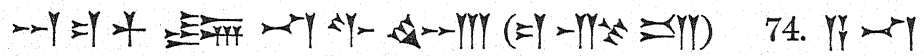

ṣu - (um) - mi - rat lib - bi ka 69. pa - nu - u ka ul
take the desire of thy heart, before thee he shall not

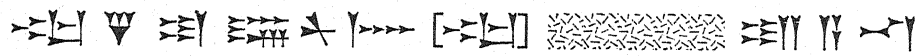

ur - rak ul i - nir - ru - ḍa sepi ka 70. ul
stand, he shall not oppose thy feet Do not

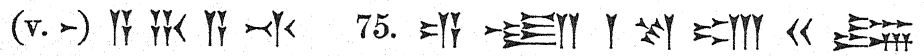

ta - u - sat zu - par ka ina qabal tam - ḥa - ri 71. ina
regard(?) thy skin. In the midst of battle, in


ki - rim - me sa ḍabti taḥ - ẓi - in ka va
her beneficent generosity, she guards thee, and


72. taḥ - te- na gi - mir la a-ni- ka 73. pa-nu- us -sa
overthrows all the unsubmissive. Before her,

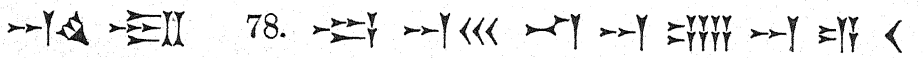

isatu in - na - pi - iḥ (iz - zi - is) 74. a - na
a fire is blown (strongly); to

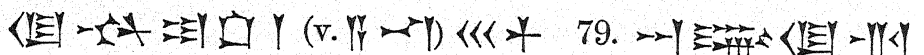

ka - sa - ad nakiri [ka] * * * * ẓi a - na
*capture [thy] enemies * * * * * to*

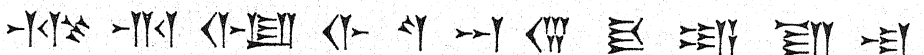

(v.) (ina) a - ḥa - a - ti 75. e - li Te - um -man ṣar
(*v. in*) *each other(?)."* *Against Teumman king of*

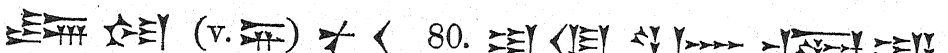

Elam 76. sa ug - gu - ga - at pa-nu- us -sa
Elam who was hateful before her, she

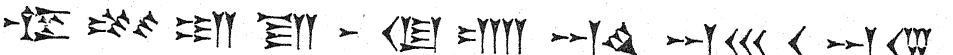

tas - kun 77. ina araḥ Elulu i -sin - ni
appointed. In the month Elul, the festival of


Assur ẓiru 78. araḥ Sin na - an - nir same va
Assur the Great, the month of Sin the luminary of heaven and


irẓiti ad - gil ana (v. a - na) uzzi 79. Ur - ri
earth, I trusted to the power of Hur

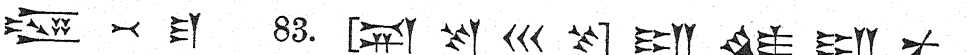

nam - ri va si - par Istar bilat ya sa la
the bright, and the message of Ishtar my Goddess who is


in - nin (v. ni) -nu-u ad - ke ẓabi taḫaz ya
unchanged. *I gathered my men of war,*


mun - taḫ - ẓi sa ina ki - bit Assur Sin va Istar
the fighting men who by command of Assur, Sin and Ishtar;

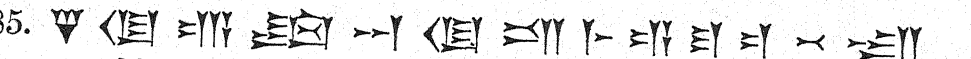

it - ta - na - as - ra - ḍu qabal tam - ḥa - ri
were arranged in order of battle.

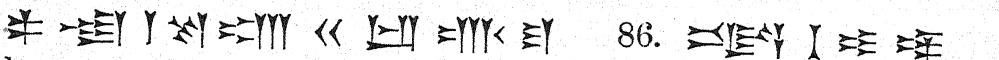

e - li Te - um -man ṣar Elam ur - ḥu
Against Teumman king of Elam, the road

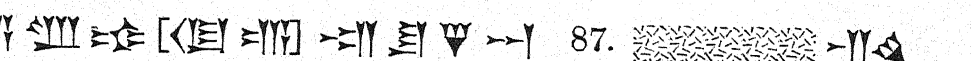

aẓ - bat va [us - te - es - se] - ra mur - ra - nu
I took, and directed the march.

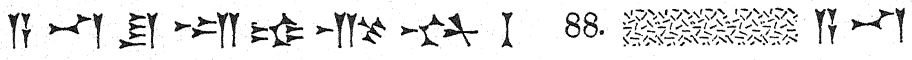

el - la - mu - u a Te - um -man ṣar Elam
In front of me, Teumman king of Elam


* * * * [na] - di man - dak - tu e - rib saru - ti ya
* * * * *camp was placed.* *Of my royal entry,*

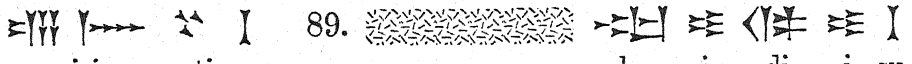

sa ki - rib Dur - il is -me - e va iẓ - bat ṣu
in the midst of Duril he heard; and fear took


ḫat- tu Te - um -man ip - luḫ va arku su i - tur
hold of him. Teumman feared, and after him turned

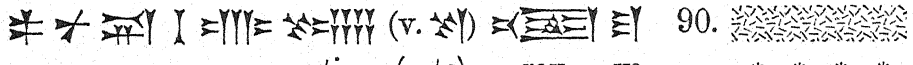

e - ru - ub [ki - rib] Su - sa - an * * * * gi
and entered [into] Shushan. * * * * * *


88.

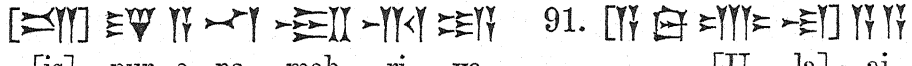
[a - na su - zu - ub napis - ti su * * * * * a - na
*To save his life * * * * * to the*



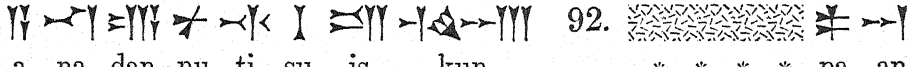
nisi mati su * * * * * ka i - di - i su
*people of his country * * * * * his hand (?),*



pa - nu - us - su u - tir (v. te) - rav - va * * * *
*before him returned, and * * * *



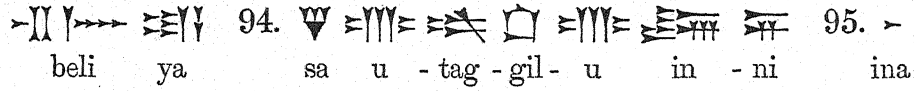
[is] - pur a - na maḫ - ri ya [U - la] - ai
[he] sent to my presence. The Ulai



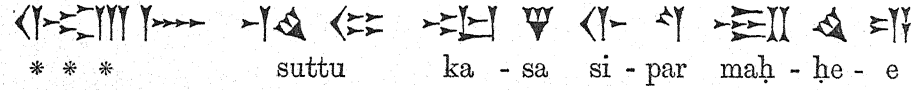
a - na dan - nu - ti su is - kun * * * * pa - an
*for himself he fortified * * * * before*



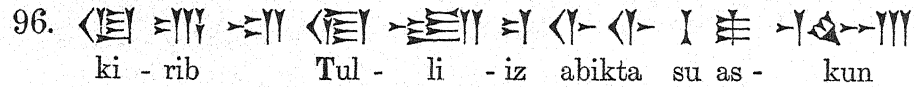
mas - ke - e * * * * * Maruduk Ili rabati
*my camp * * * * * Merodach, the great Gods*



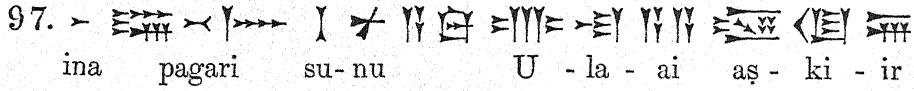
beli ya sa u - tag - gil - u in - ni ina
my lords; who protected me: in



* * * suttu ka - sa si - par maḫ - ḥe - e
omens of a dream, had given (?) a grand message.



ki - rib Tul - li - iz abikta su as - kun
In Tulliz his overthrow I accomplished;



ina pagari su - nu U - la - ai aṣ - ki - ir
with their corpses, the Ulai I choked up

98. 

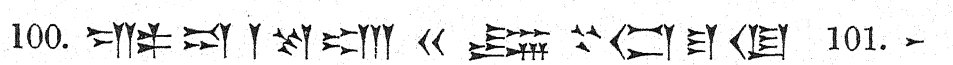
nen - a - te su - nu ki - ma mitpanu va iz - u - gir

Their wives, like bows and arrows,

99. 

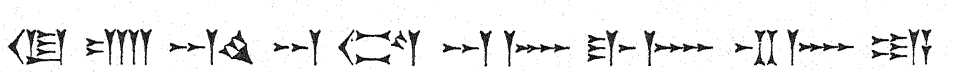
u - ma - al - la - a ta - mar - ti Su - sa - an

filled the vicinity of Shushan.

100. 

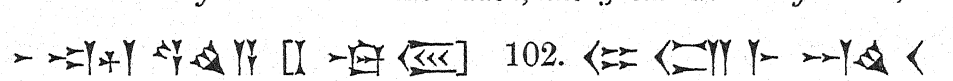
qaqadu Te - um - man ṣar Elam ina

The head of Teumman king of Elam, by



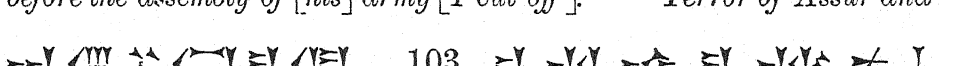
ki - bit Assur Maruduk Ili rabati beli ya

command of Assur and Merodach, the great Gods my lords;



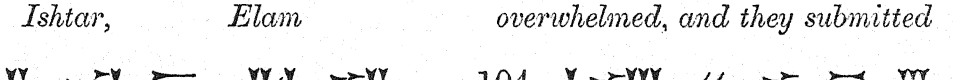
ina puḥri umman [su ak - kiṣ] me - lam - mi Assur va

before the assembly of [his] army [I cut off]. Terror of Assur and



Istar Elam iṣ - ḫu - up va ik - nu - su

Ishtar, Elam overwhelmed, and they submitted



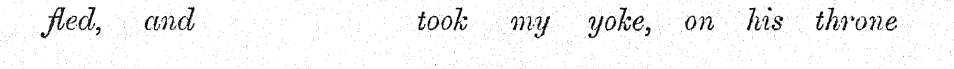
a - na ni - ri ya Um - man - i - gas sa

to my yoke. Ummanigas who



in - nab - ta iẓ - ba - ta niri ya ina kuzzu

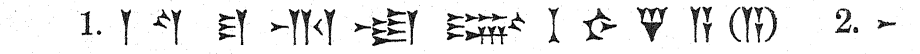
fled, and took my yoke, on his throne



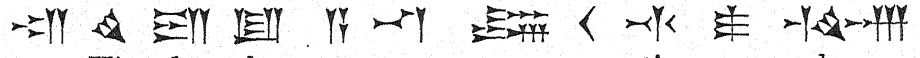
su u - se - sib

I seated.

Column VI.



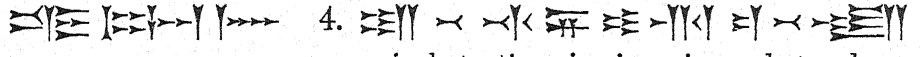
1. Tam-ma-ri-tu aḫu su sal-sa-ai 2. ina
Tammaritu, his third brother, in



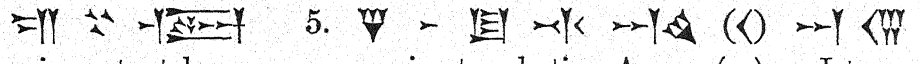
Ḫi-da-lu a-na ṣar-u-ti as-kun
Hidalu to the kingdom, I appointed.



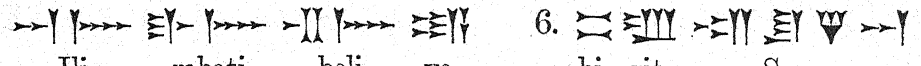
3. ruqubi ṣu-um bi susi
Chariots of war, horses



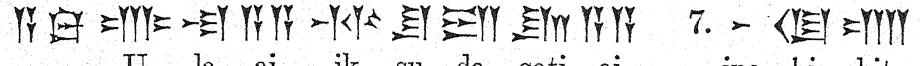
pare 4. ṣi-bat-ti ni-i-ri bat-le
and mules, trained to the yoke, instruments



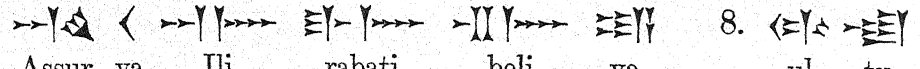
ṣi-mat taḫaz 5. sa ina tugul-ti Assur (va) Istar
fashioned for war; which in the service of Assur and Ishtar,



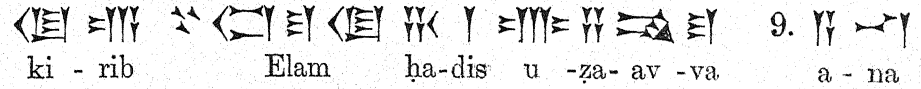
Ili rabati beli ya 6. bi-rit Su-sa-an
the great Gods my lords, near Shushan



U-la-ai ik-su-da qati ai 7. ina ki-bit
and the Ulai, my hands captured; by command of



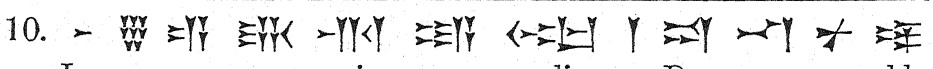
Assur va Ili rabati beli ya 8. ul-tu
Assur and the great Gods my lords, from



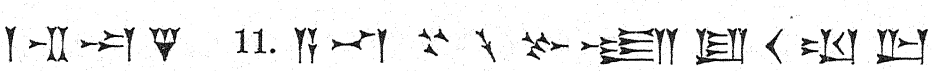
ki-rib Elam ḫa-dis u-ṣa-av-va 9. a-na
the midst of Elam, joyfully I brought out, and to



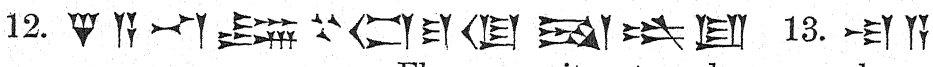
gi - mir umman ya sa sal - tu sak - na - at
all my army, for spoil they were given.



10. Ina samne gar - ri ya eli Du - na - nu ablu
In my seventh expedition, against Dunanu son of



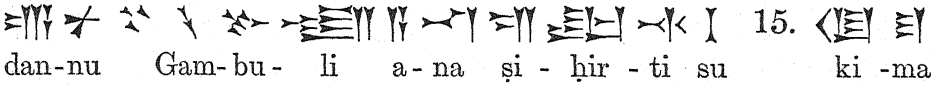
Bel - ba - sa a - na Gam - bu - li lu - u al - lik
Belbasa, to Gambuli I went;



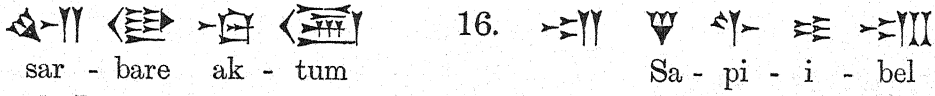
12. sa a - na ṣar Elam it - tag - lu la - a
who to the king of Elam had trusted, and did not



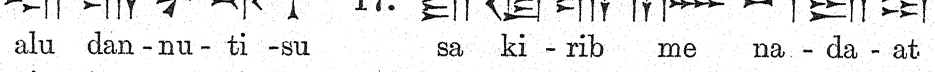
13. ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya 14. ta - ḫa - zi
submit to my yoke. By my powerful



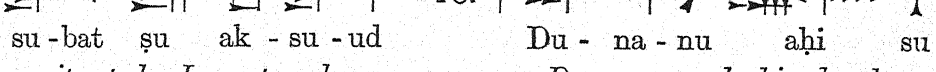
dan - nu Gam - bu - li a - na ṣi - ḫir - ti su 15. ki - ma
attack Gambuli through its extent, like a



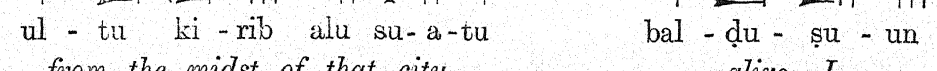
sar - bare ak - tum 16. Sa - pi - i - bel
hailstorm I covered. *Sapibel*



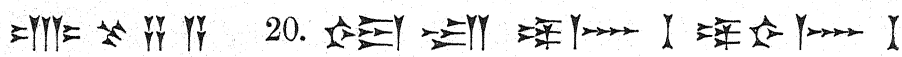
alu dan - nu - ti - su 17. sa ki - rib me na - da - at
its strong city; which in the midst of the waters was



su - bat ṣu ak - su - ud 18. Du - na - nu aḫi su
situated, I captured. *Dunanu and his brothers,*

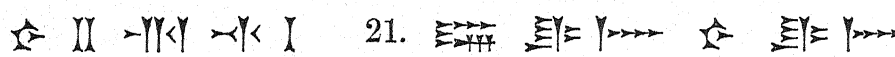


ul - tu ki - rib alu su - a - tu 19. bal - ḍu - ṣu - un
from the midst of that city, *alive I*



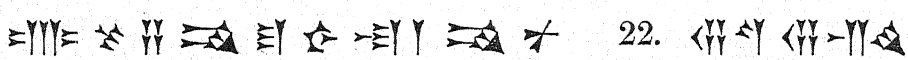
u -se-ẓa-a allat ṣu abli su binti su

brought out. His wife, his sons, his daughters,



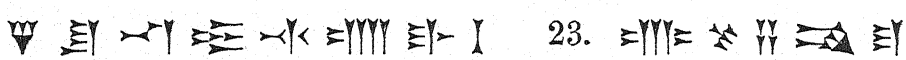
sal sik- ri - ti su nis labi sal labi

his concubines, male musicians and female musicians,



u -se-ẓa- av -va sal- la-tis am -nu kasap ḫuraẓ

I brought out, and as spoil I counted. Silver, gold,



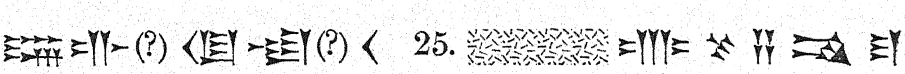
sa -su na -gan- ti e -kal su u -se-ẓa- av -va

furniture, and musical instruments of his palace, I brought out, and



sal - la -tis am -nu * * * * man-za- az pa - ni su

*as spoil I counted. * * * * standing before him*



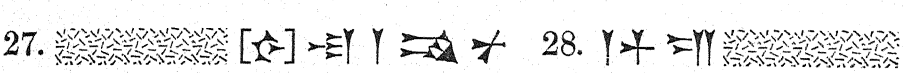
mar - ki - tu - u(?) * * * u -se-ẓa- av -va

* * * * * * * * * * * * *I brought out, and*



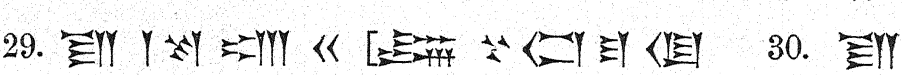
sal - la -tis am -nu * * * * * ma- la ba -su-u

*as spoil I counted. * * * * * all there was*



* * * * [sal]- la -tis am -nu Maṣ- ṣi * * * *

* * * * *as spoil I counted.* *Massi the officer(?)*



sa Te - um - man [ṣar Elam] sa

of Teumman [king of Elam]; who



a - na kit - ri [Du - na -nu] as - bu ki -[rib

to aid [Dunanu] dwelt within



Sa - pi - i] - bel

[Sapi]bel:

32. 

bal - ḍu - uṣ - ṣu ina [qati

alive in [hand] I



az] -bat

took,

33. 

it - ti pa - ni Du - na - nu * * * * *

with the officers of Dunanu * * * * *

34. 

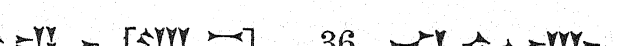
alu su - a - tu ab - bul ag - [gur ina me us - ḫam - miḍ]

That city I pulled down, destroyed [and into the waters I turned].

35. 

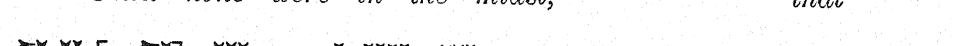
a - di la ba - se - e ina [lib - bi]

Until none were in the midst,

36. 

na - gu - u

that



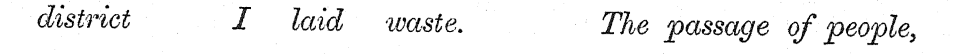
su - a - [tu] u - saḫ - rib

district I laid waste.

37.

ri - kim a - mi - lu - ti

The passage of people,



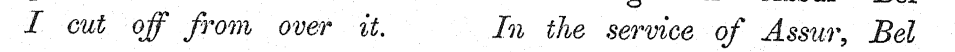
ap - ru - ṣa zir - us - su

I cut off from over it.

38.

ina tu - gul - ti Assur Bel

In the service of Assur, Bel



Nabu Ili rabati

and Nebo the great Gods;

39.

nakiri ya a - ni - ḫa

my enemies I rested from:

40. 

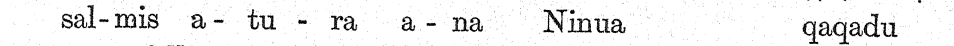
sal - mis a - tu - ra a - na Ninua

peacefully, I returned to Nineveh.

41.

qaqadu

The head of



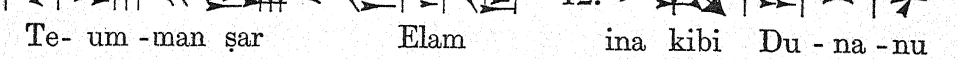
Te - um - man ṣar Elam

Teumman king of Elam,

42.

ina kibi Du - na - nu

round the neck of Dunanu



a - lul

I hung.

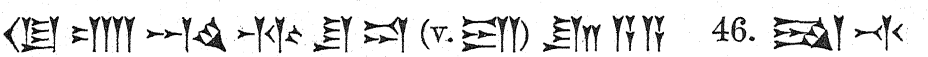
43.

it - ti ki - sit - ti Elam

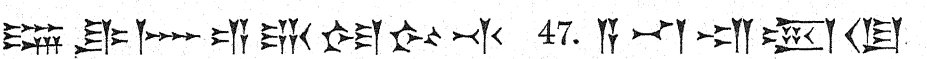
With the conquests of Elam,



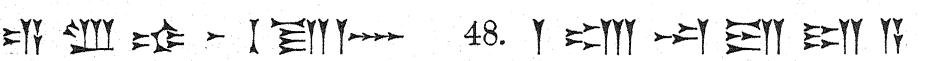
44. sal - la - at (v. ti) Gam - bu - li 45. sa ina
and the spoil of Gambuli; which by



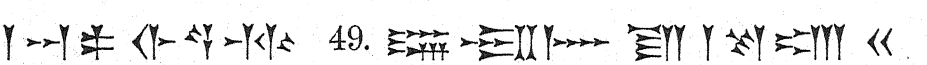
ki - bit Assur ik - su - du (v. da) qati ai 46. it - ti
command of Assur, my hands had taken; with



nis labi e - pis nin - gu - ti 47. a - na Ninua
musicians making music, into Nineveh,



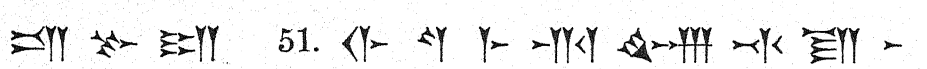
e - ru - ub ina ḫidati 48. Um - ba - da - ra - a
I entered with rejoicings. Umbadara and



Nabu - damiq 49. nisi ṣirati sa Te - um - man
Nebodamiq, great men of Teumman



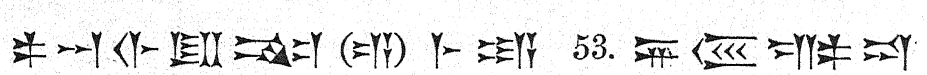
ṣar Elam 50. sa Te - um - man ina qati su - nu
king of Elam; whom Teumman by their hand



is - pu - ra 51. si - par mi - ri - iḫ - ti sa ina
sent the threatening message, whom in



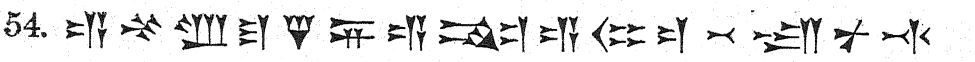
maḫ - ri ya ak - lu - u 52. u - qa - hu - u
my presence I confined, and bound,



pa - an si - kin ḍe - (e) mi ya 53. ni - kiṣ qaqadu
until the fixing of my sentence: the decapitated head of

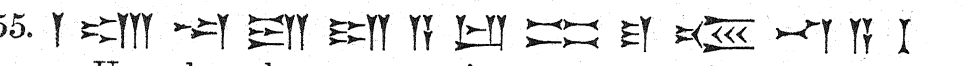


Te - um - man bel su - nu ki - rib Ninua
Teumman their lord, in Nineveh

54. 

e-mu-ru va sa-ne-e ḍe-e-mi iẓ-bat ṣu-nu-ti

they saw, and another opinion took hold of them.

55. 

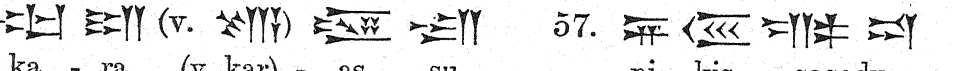
Um-ba-da-ra-a ip-qu-ma ziq-na-a su

Umbadara tore his beard,

56. 

Nabu-damiq ina gir parzil sib-bi su iz-ḫu-la

Nebodamiq with the steel sword of his girdle, pierced



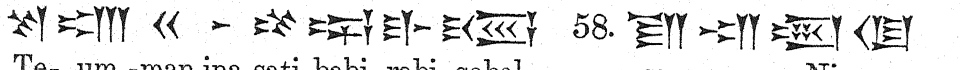
ka-ra (v. kar)-aṣ ṣu

through his [own] body.

57.

ni-kiṣ qaqadu

The decapitated head of



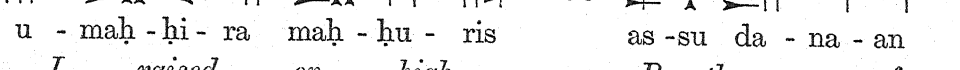
Te-um-man ina ṣati babi rabi qabal

Teumman, in front of the great gate

58.

sa Ninua

situated in Nineveh;



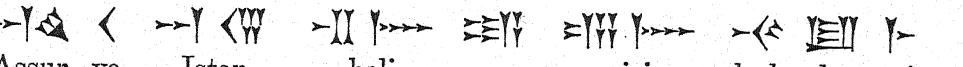
u-maḥ-ḥi-ra maḥ-ḫu-ris

I raised on high.

59.

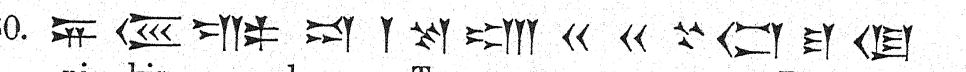
as-su da-na-an

By the power of



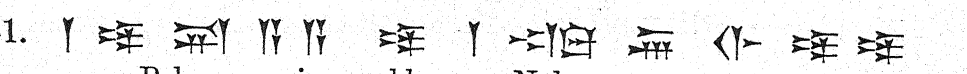
Assur va Istar beli ya nisi kul-lu-mi

Assur and Ishtar my lords, the people reviled (?)

60. 

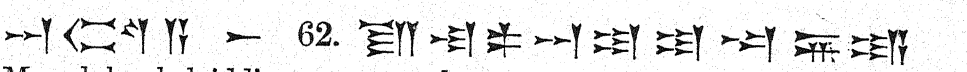
ni-kiṣ qaqadu Te-um-man ṣar Elam

the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam.

61. 

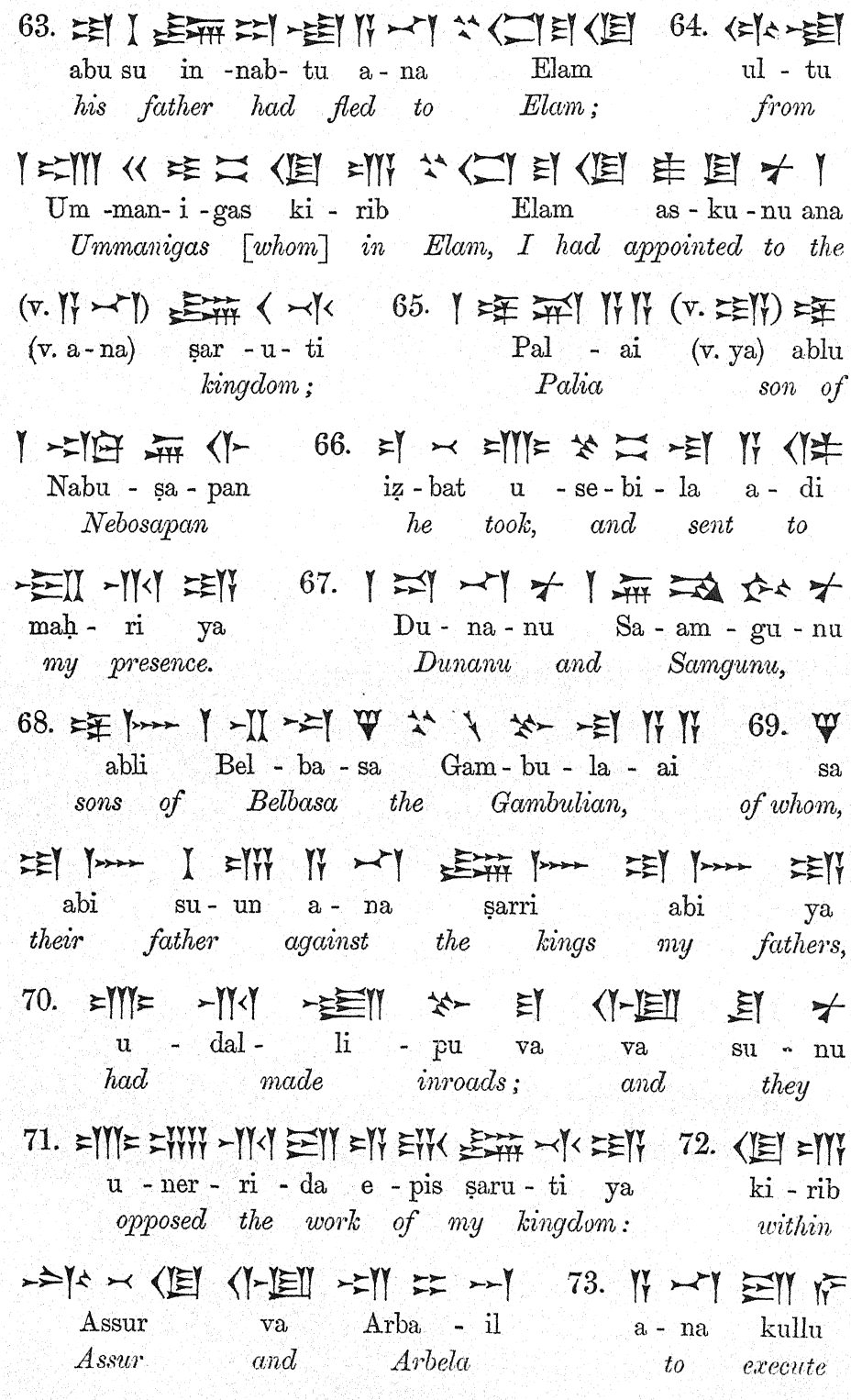
Pal-ai ablu Nabu-ṣa-pan ablu-ablu

Palia son of Nebosapan, grandson of



Maruduk-bal-iddina sa la pa-an abu abi ba-ni ya

Merodachbaladan, of whom from the face of the grandfather my begetter;



63. abu su in -nab- tu a - na Elam 64. ul - tu
his father had fled to Elam; from

Um -man- i -gas ki - rib Elam as - ku - nu ana
Ummanigas [whom] in Elam, I had appointed to the

(v. a - na) ṣar - u - ti 65. Pal - ai (v. ya) ablu
kingdom; Palia son of

Nabu - ṣa - pan 66. iẓ - bat u - se - bi - la a - di
Nebosapan he took, and sent to

maḥ - ri ya 67. Du - na - nu Sa - am - gu - nu
my presence. Dunanu and Samgunu,

68. abli Bel - ba - sa Gam - bu - la - ai 69. sa
sons of Belbasa the Gambulian, of whom,

abi su - un a - na ṣarri abi ya
their father against the kings my fathers,

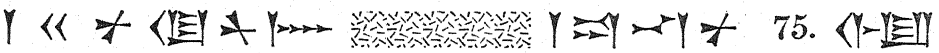
70. u - dal - li - pu va va su - nu
had made inroads; and they

71. u - ner - ri - da e - pis ṣaru - ti ya 72. ki - rib
opposed the work of my kingdom: within

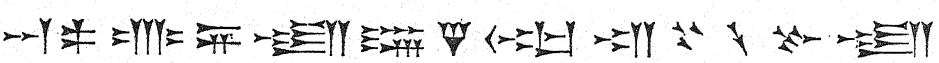
Assur va Arba - il 73. a - na kullu
Assur and Arbela to execute



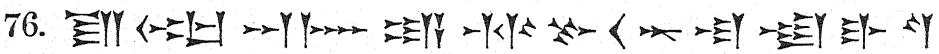
74. aḫ - ra - a - ti u - bil su-nu - ti sa
my judgment I brought them. Of



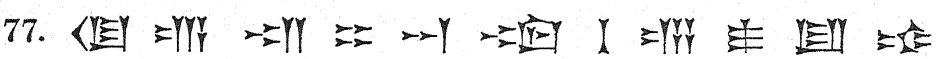
75. Man-nu - ki - aḫi * * * * Du - na - nu va
*Mannukiahi * * * * , Dunanu and*



Nabu - u - zal - li nisi sa eli Gam-bu - li
Nebouzalli, men who were over Gambuli;



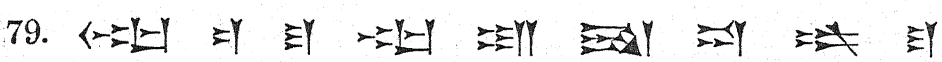
76. sa eli Ili ya ig - bu - u suq - la - tu rab - tu
who against my Gods uttered great curses,



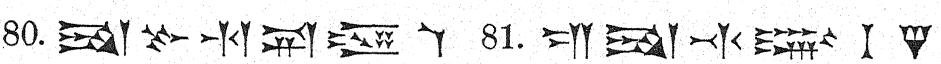
77. ki - rib Arba- il lisan su - un as - lu - up
in Arbela, their tongues I pulled out,



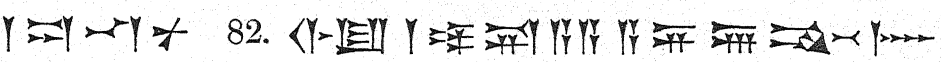
78. as - hu - ud masak su - un Du - na - nu ki - rib Ninua
I flayed off their skin. Dunanu in Nineveh,



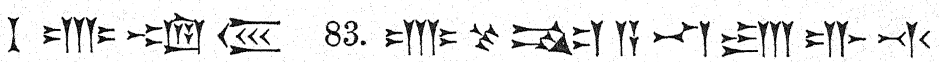
79. eli ma - ka - ẓi id - du suv - va
over a furnace they placed him, and



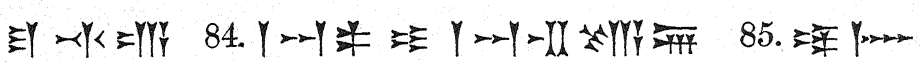
80. iḍ - bu - ḫu - us az - lis 81. ṣi - it - ti aḫi su sa
consumed him entirely. The rest of the brothers of



Du - na - nu va Pal - ai a - ni - ir siri
Dunanu and Paliya, I threw down; his limbs



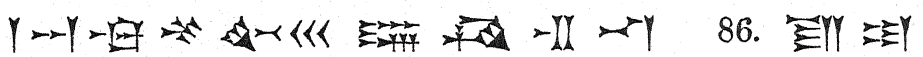
su u - nak - kiṣ 83. u - se - bil a - na ta - mar - ti
I cut off, and sent for the inspection of my



84. 85.

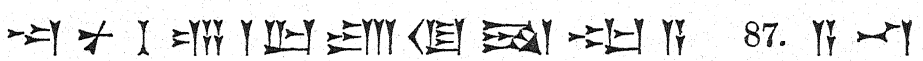
ma- ti dan Nabu -nahid Bel - edir abli

powerful country. *Nabonidus and Beledir* *sons of*



Nabu -zikir- esses tig - en - na 86. sa abu

Nabuzikiresses *tigenna:* *whose father*



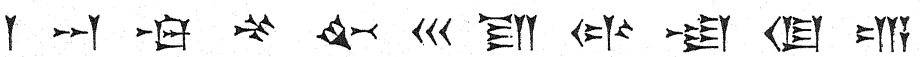
ba - nu su - un Ur - ta - ki id - ka - a 87. a - na

their begetter, *Urtaki* *brought* *to*



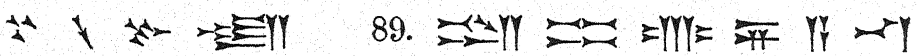
mit - ḫu - ẓi Akkad 88. ner - pad - du - i

fight with *Akkad* *the attendants*



Nabu - zikir - esses sa ul - tu ki - rib

of Nebozikiresses, *whom* *from* *the* *midst* *of*



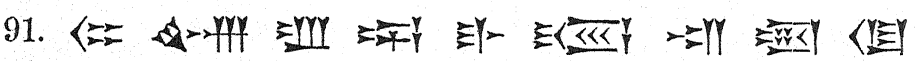
Gam - bu - li 89. il - qu - u - ni a - na

Gambuli, *I* *carried* *to*



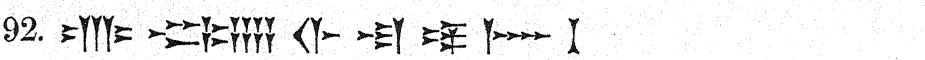
Assur 90. ner - pad - du - i sa - a - ti - na

Assyria: *those* *attendants,* *in*



91. me - eḫ - rit bab rab qabal Ninua

front of the great gate in the midst of Nineveh;



92. u - saḫ - si - la abli su

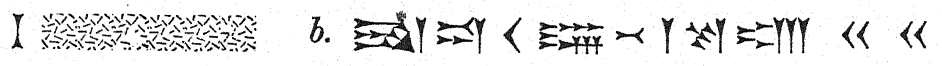
I caused to crush his sons.

EXTRACT FROM K, 2652.



a. Ina araḫ Tasritu immi istin in - nin - du va eli

In the month Tisri, the first day, it was placed; and against



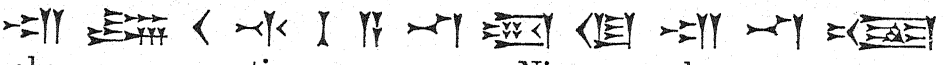
su * * * * * *b.* id - du - u pagar Te - um - man ṣar

him * * * * *they threw the corpse of Teumman king of*



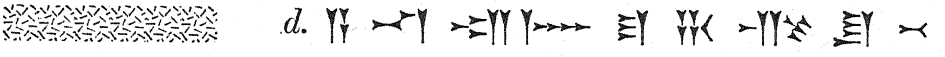
Elam * * * * * *c.* ultu su - sa - an

Elam * * * * * *from* *Shushan*



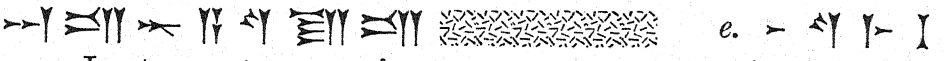
alu ṣar - u - ti su a - na Ninua alu na - ram

his royal city, to Nineveh the city the delight



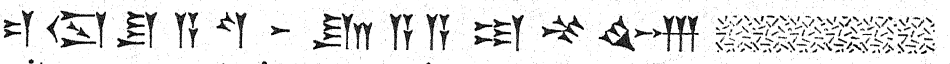
* * * * * *d.* a - na alani ma - ḫa - zi su - bat

* * * * * * *to the fortified cities, seats of*



Is - tar - a - tu sa is * * * * * *e.* ina im - mi su

Ishtaroth; who * * * * * *In those days,*



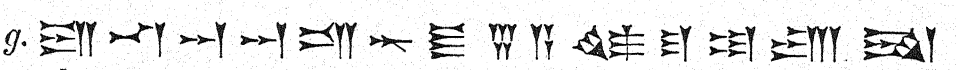
mitpanu su - a - tu ina qata ai at - mu - uḫ * * * * *

that bow in my hand, I took * * * * *



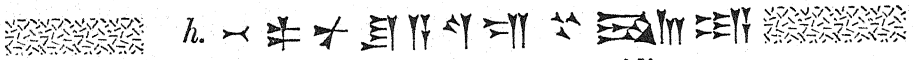
f. e - li nikiṣ qaqadu Te - um - man ṣar E - lam * * *

over the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam, * * *



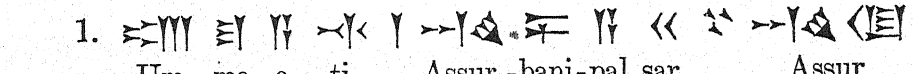
g. da - na - an Is - tar bilat ya a - mur va at - ta - id

The power of Ishtar my Goddess I saw and praised

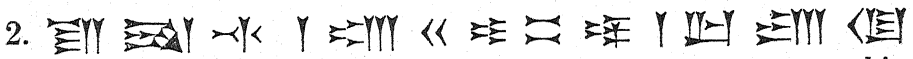


h. * * * mit-pa-nu su-a-tu ṣi-mat idi ya * * * *
* * * *that bow, the weapon of my hand* * * * *

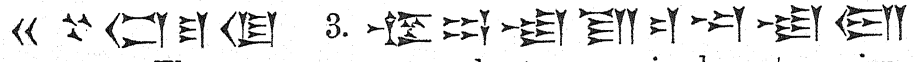
FRAGMENT OF TABLET K, 2674, CONTAINING EIGHT EPIGRAPHS FOR PLACING OVER THE SCULPTURED SCENES ON A PALACE WALL.



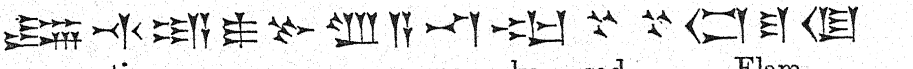
1. Um-ma-a-ti Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur
The general of Assurbanipal king of Assyria;



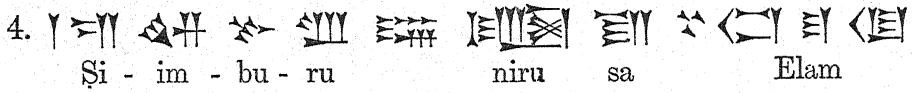
2. sa it-ti Um-man-i-gas ablu Ur-ta-ki
whom with Ummanigas son of Urtaki



ṣar Elam 3. mun-nab-tu sa iẓ-ba-tu niru
king of Elam, the fugitive, who took the yoke of



ṣaru-ti ya as-pu-ru a-na ka-sad Elam
my kingdom: I sent to conquer Elam.



4. Ṣi-im-bu-ru niru sa Elam
Simburu a chief of Elam,



ma-lak ummani ya is-mi va 5. zi-kar
of the progress of my army heard; and at the fame of



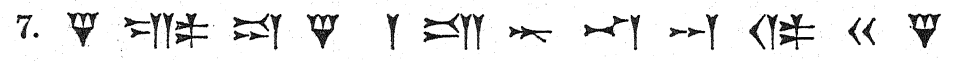
sum ya ip-luḥ va ina mahri a-mir ya
my name he feared, and in the presence of my envoy



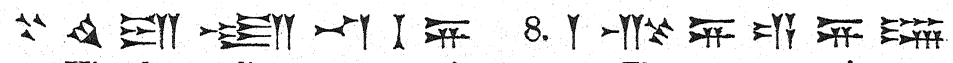
il-lik-av-va u-na-siq niri ya
he came, and kissed my feet.



6. Um - ba - ki -din- ni niru sa Ḥi- da - li
Umbakidinni a chief of Hidalu;



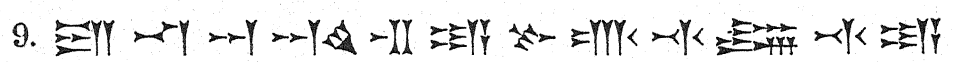
7. sa qaqadu sa Is - tar - na - an - di ṣar sa
who the head of Istarnandi king of



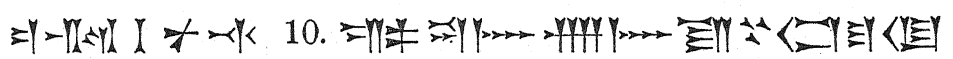
Ḥi - da - li na -su- ni 8. Zi - ne - e - ni
Hidalu, was bringing. *Zineni*



sa- si Su - am -mu- ri(?) ina miṣ - ri ki - ta -i(?) e - ṣir
*sasi of Suammuri (?), in a blockade (?) * * * * I besieged.*



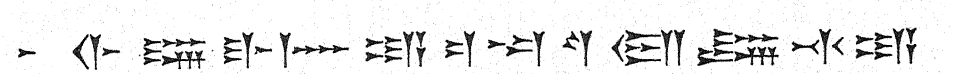
9. da - na - an Assur bel ya pu - luḥ - ti ṣaru - ti ya
The power of Assur my lord, and fear of my kingdom,



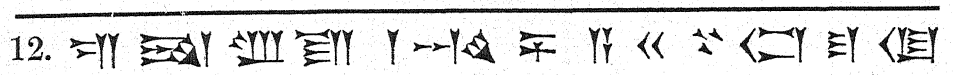
iṣ- ḫup su-nu- ti 10. qaqadi rubi ša Elam
overwhelmed them. *The heads of the princes of Elam,*



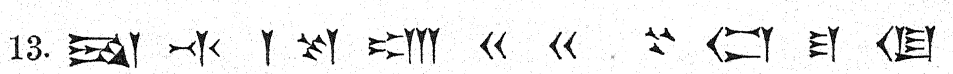
la kan -su- ti ya ik - ki - ṣu - niv - va 11. id - du -u
not submissive to me, they cut off and *laid*



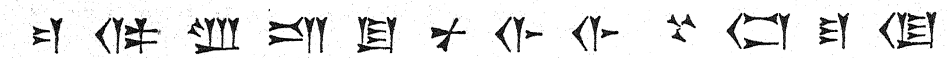
ina maḫri nisi rabati ya iṣ - ba - tu niru ṣaru - ti ya
in presence of my great men. They took the yoke of my kingdom.



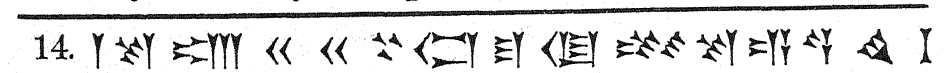
12. Ṣi - id - ru sa Assur - bani-pal ṣar Elam
Line [of battle]; which Assurbanipal king of Elam,



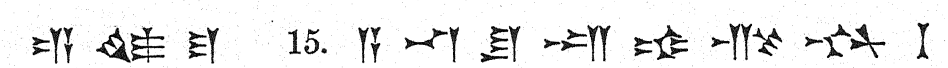
13. it - ti Te - um - man ṣar Elam
against Teumman king of Elam



iṣ - di - ru is - ku - nu abikta Elam
arrayed. They accomplished the overthrow of Elam.

14. 

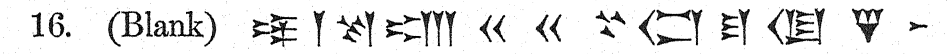
Te - um -man ṣar Elam taḫ - te - e umman su
Teumman king of Elam, the defeat of his army



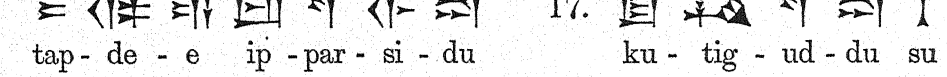
e - mur va 15. a - na su - zu - ub napis - ti su
saw; and to save his life,



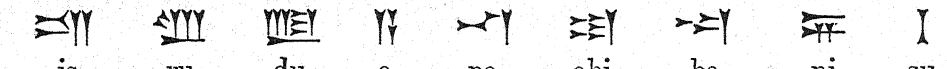
in - na - bit va i - ba - qa - am ziq - na - a su
he fled, and tore his beard.

16. (Blank) 

(*Blank*) ablu Te - um -man ṣar Elam sa ina
(Blank) *son of Teumman king of Elam; who in*



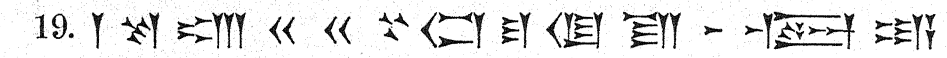
tap - de - e ip - par - si - du 17. ku - tig - ud - du su
fear had fled, his line of battle(?)



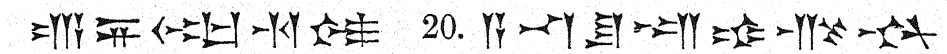
is - ru - ḍu a - na abi ba - ni su
had arranged. To the father his begetter

18. 

i - sa - aṣ - ṣu - u ku - us - sid la ta - kal - la
he had said: "the battle(?) do not continue."

19. 

Te - um -man ṣar Elam sa ina taḫaz ya
Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce



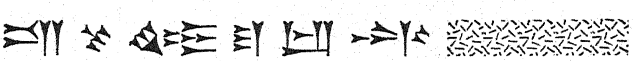
dan - ni muḫ - ḫa - ẓu 20. a - na su - zu - ub napis - ti
attack was wounded: to save his life



in - na - bit va iḥ - lu - ub ki - rib kis - ti
fled, and passed through the woods.

21. 

[ruqubi] ṣu - um - bi ru - du ṣaru - ti su
The war chariot, his royal carriage,

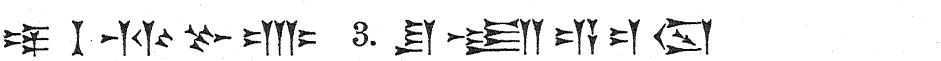


is - se - bir va ip - pal * * * *
was broken and fell * * * *

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; ONE, TEUMMAN WOUNDED BY AN ARROW, THE OTHER, HIS SON TAMRITU DRAWING A BOW.

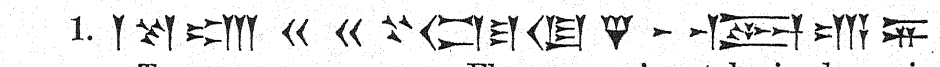
1. 

Te - um -man ina me - kit ḍe - e - mi a - na
Teumman with a sharp command, to

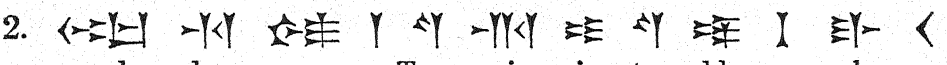


ablu su ig - bu - u su - le - e mitpanu
his son had said: "draw the bow."

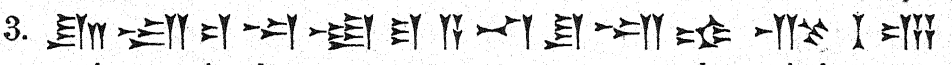
EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES (TEUMMAN AND HIS SON) BEING EXECUTED.

1. 

Te - um -man ṣar Elam sa ina taḥazi dan - ni
Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce attack

2. 

muḥ - ḥu - ṣu Tam - ri - i - tu ablu su rabu - u
was wounded; Tamritu his eldest son,

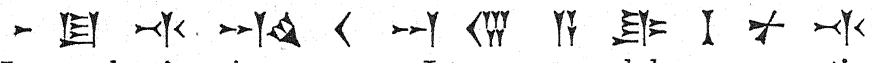
3. 

qati ṣu iṣ - ba - tu. va a - na su - zu - ub napisti su - un
his hands had taken, and to save their lives,

4. 

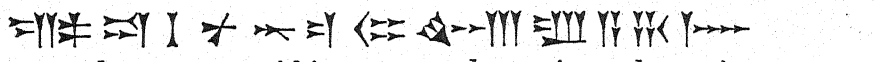
in - nab - tu iḫ - lu - bu ki - rib kis - ti

they fled, and passed through the woods.

5. 

Ina tugul - ti Assur va Istar a - lul su - nu - ti

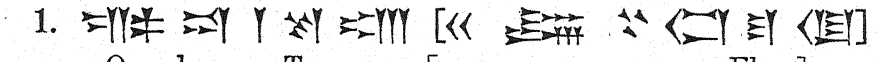
In the service of Assur and Ishtar, I felled them.

6. 

qaqadu su-nu akkiṣ me - eḫ - rit a-ḫa-mis

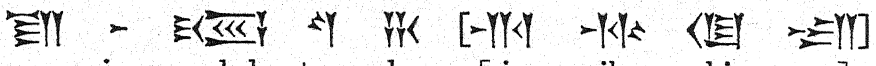
Their heads I cut off, in presence of each other.

EPIGRAPH OVER FIGURES SEATED IN A CHARIOT HOLDING A MAN'S HEAD IN HAND.

1. 

Qaqadu Te - um -[man ṣar Elam]

The head of Teumman [king of Elam];

2. 

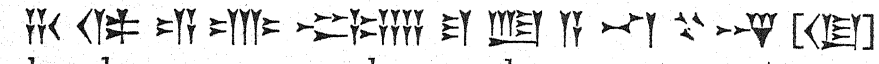
sa ina qabal tam - ḫa - [ri ik - ki - ṣu]

which in the midst of battle [they cut off,]

3. 

a - ḫu - ru - u umman ya a - na bu - uṣ - [ṣu - rat]

in sight of my army. For good tidings,

4. 

ḫa - de - e u - saḫ -ma- ḍu a - na Assur

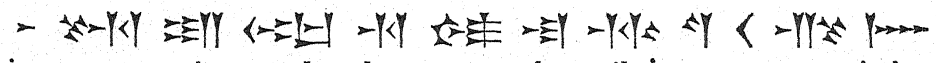
joyfully they sent [it] to Assyria.

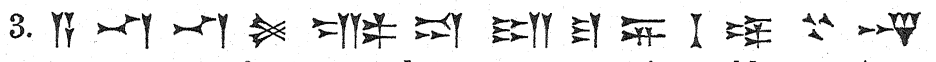
EPIGRAPH OVER WOUNDED FIGURE ON THE GROUND SURRENDERING HIMSELF.

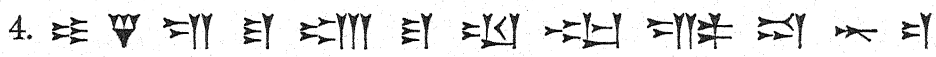
1. 

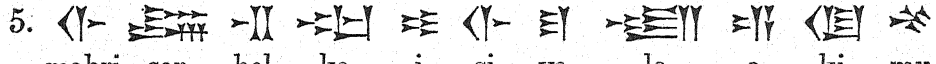
Ur - [ta] -ku ḫa - ta -nu Te - um -man 2. sa

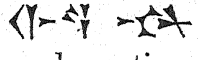
Urtaku the relative of Teumman; who


ina uz - zi muḥ - ḥu - zu la ik - tu - u napisti
by an arrow was wounded; regarded not his life.

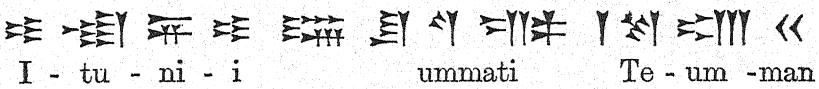
3. 
a - na na - kaṣ qaqadu ra - ma - ni su ablu Assur
To cut off his own head, the son of Assur

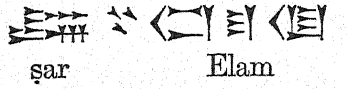
4. 
i - sa - ṣi va um - ma al - ka qaqadu nakiṣ
he told also thus: "I surrender; my head cut off,

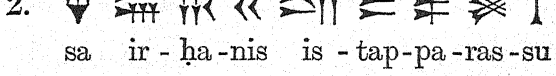
5. 
maḥri ṣar bel ka i - si va le - e - ki - mu
before the king thy lord set it, may he take it for a

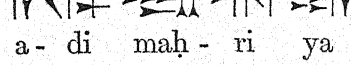

damqati
good omen."

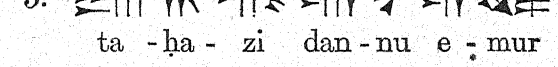
EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; THE FIRST HOLDING THE SECOND BY THE HAIR OF HIS HEAD, AND LIFTING A SWORD WITH HIS RIGHT HAND. THE SECOND WITH A SWORD IN HIS RIGHT HAND, CUTTING IN TWO A BOW, HELD IN HIS OWN LEFT HAND.

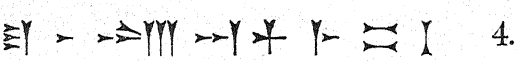
1. 
I - tu - ni - i ummati Te - um - man
Ituni general of Teumman

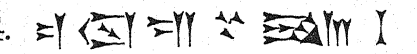

ṣar Elam
king of Elam;

2. 
sa ir - ḥa - nis is - tap - pa - ras - su
of whom, treacherously he sent him


a - di maḥ - ri ya
to my presence.

3. 
ta - ḥa - zi dan - nu e - mur
My fierce attack he saw;


va ina gir parzil sib-bi su
and with the steel sword of his girdle,

4. 
mitpanu ṣi-mat idi su
the bow the weapon of his arm,


ik-ṣi-ma qati ra-ma-ni su
he severed in his own hand.

Epigraph over a Figure led forward by the hand to receive Homage.

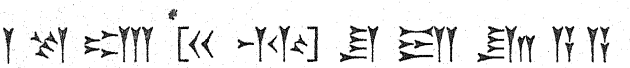
1. 
Um-man-i-gas mun-nab-tu ardu a iẓ-ba-tu niri ya
Ummanigas the fugitive, my servant, had taken my yoke.

2. 
ina e-pis pi-ya ina ḥidati ki-rib Ma-dak-te
In performing my command, with rejoicing into Madaktu

3. 
va Su-sa-an ummati ya sa as-pu-ru
and Shushan; my general whom I had sent,

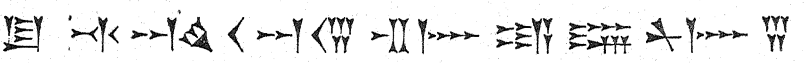
4. 
u-se-rib va [u]-se-sib su

5. 
ina kuzzu
caused him to enter, and seated him on the throne of


Te-um-[man ik]-su-da qat ai
Teumman, captured by my hands.

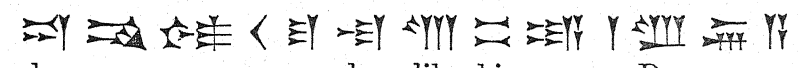
Epigraph over King (Assurbanipal) in Chariot receiving Ambassadors.

1. 
A-na-ku Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur
I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria;

2. 

sa ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar beli ya nakiri ya

of whom, in the service of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, my enemies

3. 

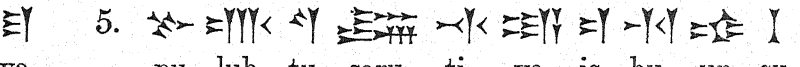
ak-su-du am - ṣu - u ma - la lib - bi ya Ru - ṣa - a

I have captured; I have gratified all my heart. *Rusa*

4. 

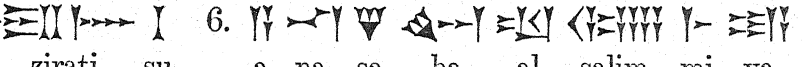
ṣar Ur - ar - ḍa da - na - an Assur bel ya

king of Armenia; the power of Assur my lord,



is - mi va 5. pu - luḥ - tu ṣaru - ti ya iṣ - ḥu - up su

heard of, and *fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him,*



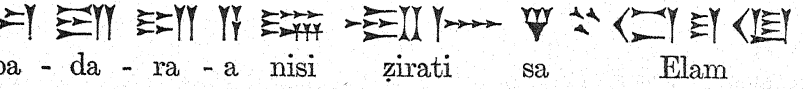
va nisi ẓirati su 6. a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi ya

and his great men *to pray for my friendship,*



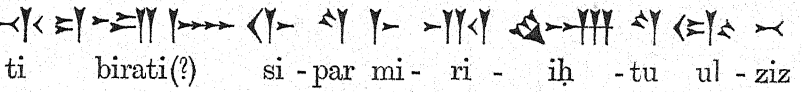
is - pu - ra ana ki - rib Arba - il 7. Nabu - damiq

he sent to the midst of Arbela. *Nebodamiq*



Um - ba - da - ra - a nisi ẓirati sa Elam

and Umbadara, great men of Elam,

8. 

it - ti birati(?) si - par mi - ri - iḥ - tu ul - ziz

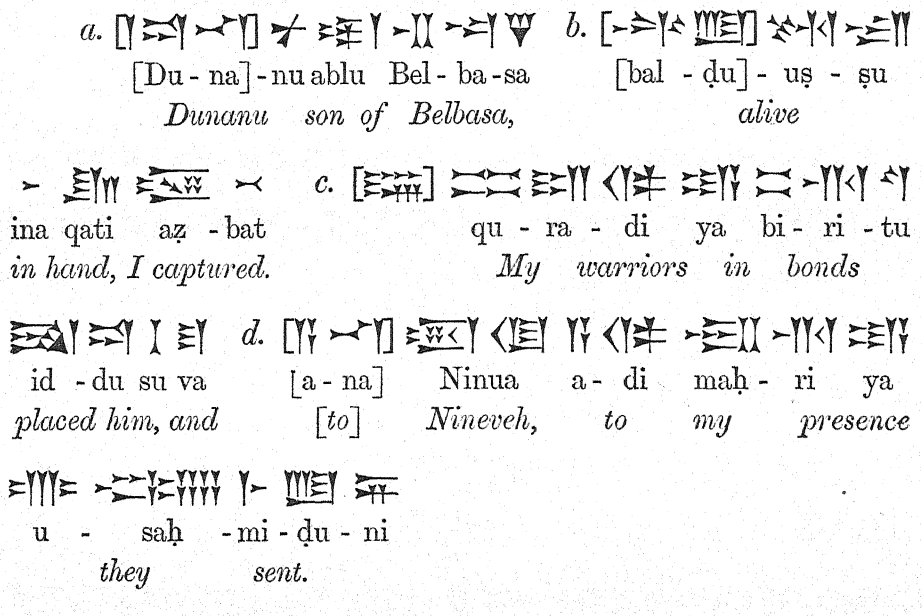
in bonds for the defiance; I placed



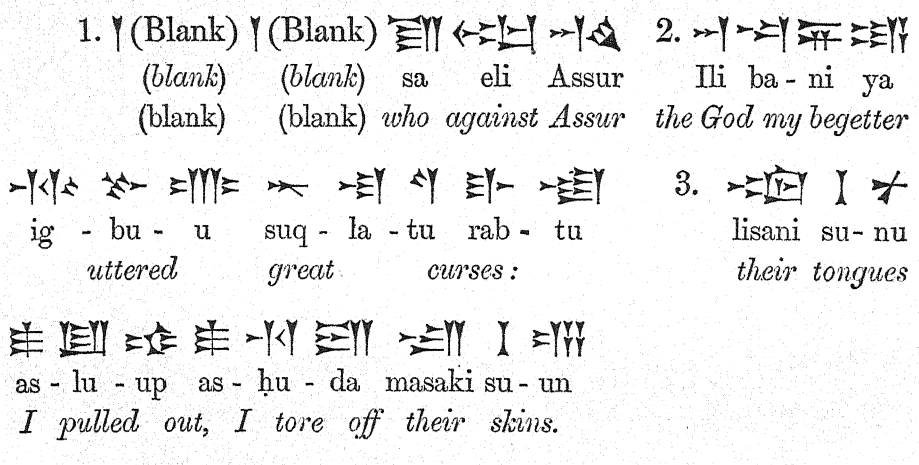
ina maḥ - ri su - un

in their presence.

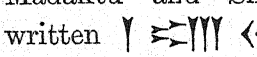
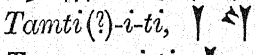
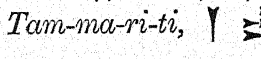
EPIGRAPH ON TABLET K, 2637.

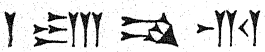
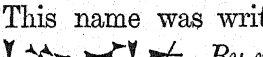
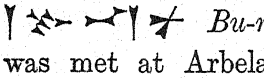
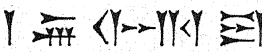
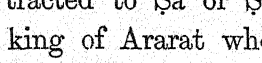
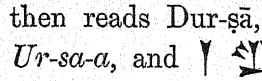
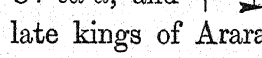


EPIGRAPH (*names blank*) OVER FIGURES BEING FLAYED ALIVE.



The circumstances recorded in this division of Assurbanipal's reign, probably extended over a considerable time, and the war with Teumman, which forms its main feature, was evidently considered one of the most important struggles, in which Assyria had engaged. This war, the subsequent triumph, and the tortures

of the prisoners, formed the theme of many of the sculptures, which ornamented the palace of Assurbanipal. After the flight of the Elamite princes to Assyria, Teumman sent an embassy under Umbadara and Nebodamiq, two of his chiefs, to demand that they should be given up. This Assurbanipal refused, and Teumman then declared war. Some appearance in the heavens was interpreted to indicate the overthrow of Elam; and Assurbanipal was told by the priests, that his favourite Goddess Ishtar of Arbela, had appeared in the night, and prophesied his victory. The description of her appearance in this vision, recalls the winged figure surrounded with a halo and drawing a bow, so often represented over the figures of Assyrian monarchs. The supposed bow of Ishtar appears to have been given to Assurbanipal, who afterwards often mentions it. The Elamite king retired from Duril, on the Assyrian border, at the approach of the forces of Assurbanipal; and took up a position near a town named Tulliz; having the river Ulai in front, and a wood behind his army. On the arrival of the Assyrians before his lines, Teumman sent a general named *Ituni*, to treat with Assurbanipal: but while he was in the Assyrian camp, the opposing forces joined in battle, and the Elamites were routed. *Ituni* broke his bow in despair, and several of the Elamite chiefs, showed a strong sense of the disaster, which placed their country at the mercy of Assurbanipal. Teumman and his eldest son fled, and passing through the wood tried to escape; but their chariot broke down, and they were surrounded and captured. The heads of Teumman and his son were cut off, and from the fact subsequently mentioned, that Tammaritu, Teumman's nephew, denied having done the act, it is evident that there was a belief that he was the murderer. Both Ummanigas and Tammaritu, with their adherents, fought in this battle, against their own country. After the conquest of the Elamites, Assurbanipal sent a general into Madaktu and Shushan, to proclaim Ummanigas (on K, 4796, written  Um-man-i-ga-as) king of Elam; and in place of Istar-nandi the sub-king of Ḫidalu, (whose head was brought to Assurbanipal) Tammaritu (written sometimes  *Ta-am-ma-ri-it-tu,*  *Tamti(?)-i-ti,*  *Tam-mar-i-ti,*  *Tam-ma-ri-ti,*  *Ta-am-ma-ri-ti,* and

 *Ta-am-ri-ti*), was made king in Ḥidalu. Afterwards, Assurbanipal punished the Gambulians, for revolting in alliance with Elam. The expedition to Gambuli, is given as part of the fifth expedition (which was against Teumman), in Cylinder A; but in Cylinder B, while the war with Teumman is called the seventh expedition, the war with Gambuli is separated from it by the usual divisional line, and called the eighth expedition. Dunanu the Gambulian, captured in this war, was son of Bilbasa, who assisted Urtaki, and grandson of a chief also named Dunanu. This name was written indifferently,  *Du-na-nu*, and  *Bu-na-nu*. On his triumphal return, Assurbanipal was met at Arbela, by the envoys of Ruṣā king of Ararat or Armenia; who came to make peace with him. Ruṣā is probably the same as the Ṣaduri of Cylinder A. The name means "Istar," is a fortress, and was originally sounded Istar-duri, but by dropping the initial *I* and running the שת into ס the name became  *Ṣa-ar-da-ur-ri* (the name of the king of Ararat who fought with Tiglath Pileser II). The first element in this name, suffered a further change; Ṣar being contracted to Ṣā or Ṣē, as in  *Ṣe-e-du-ri* (the king of Ararat who fought with Shalmaneser II). The name is sometimes written with the position of the elements reversed, and then reads Dur-ṣā, which is probably the origin of  *Ur-sa-a*, and  *Ru-sa-a*, forms of the name of two late kings of Ararat.

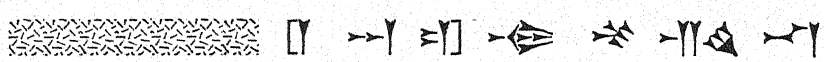
PART IX.

The Revolt of Saulmugina, Brother of Assurbanipal.

TEXTS.

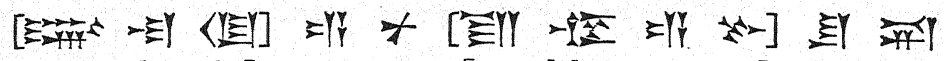
The texts of this part of the history, are more numerous than those of any other period. Only the most important are here translated, the numbers of some of the others being given at the end for reference. The principal texts are Cylinder A, col. iv, line 6, to col. v, line 43, and Cylinder B, col. vi, line 93, to col. vii, line 87. The text of Cylinder C, which differs from both these, is too mutilated to be worth translating; but the closing passage which continues the narrative of Cylinder B is given. The date from a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 84, passages at close of a number of omen tablets, with a series of Epigraphs and Dispatches are also translated.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN IV, LINE 6, TO COLUMN V, LINE 43.

6. 

* * * * * * Saul - mu - gi - na

* * * * * * *Saulmugina*



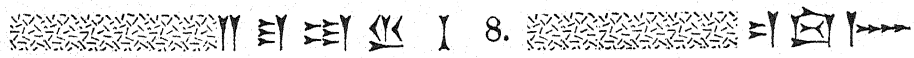
[aḫu la ke] - e - nu [sa ḍabtu e - pu] - su - us

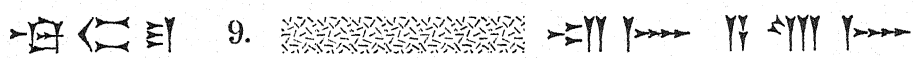
my younger [brother; benefits I had given] to him, and

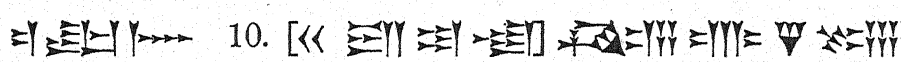


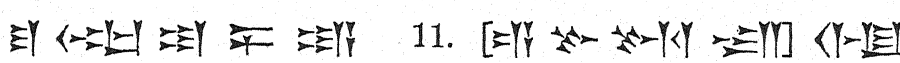
[as - ku - nu - us a - na ṣaru - ut] Bab - ili

[had appointed him to the kingdom of] Babylon


* * * * * va ad - din su 8. * * * * * ruqubi
* * * * * *and gave him* * * * * * *chariots*

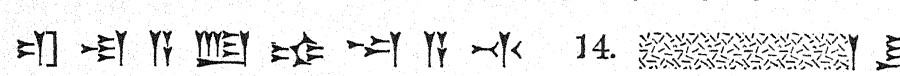

ak - ṣur va 9. * * * * * * alani ekili
I fixed, and * * * * * * *cities, fields*

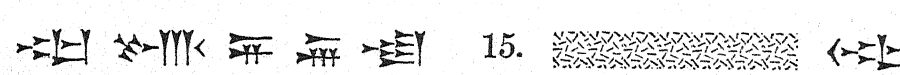

kiri 10. [man- da - at - tu] bilat u - sa - tir
and plantations. [*Tribute*] *and taxes, I caused to return,*


va eli abi bani ya 11. [e - pu - uṣ ṣu] va
and more than the father my begetter, [*I did for him*]. *And*

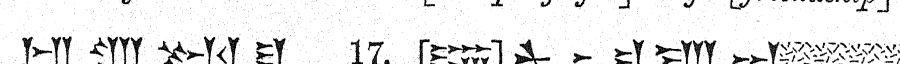

su - u damqatu an - ni - tu 12. [la ḫa - aṣ - ṣa] va
he these favours [*disregarded,*] *and*

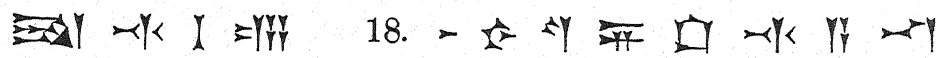

is - te - ni - ha - a limut - tu 13. [niru belu- ti ya]
devised evil. [*The yoke of my dominion,*]


iz]- la - a ḍu - ub - ba - a - ti 14. * * * * * su
he threw off, the benefits * * * * * *


ka - ẓir ni - ṣa - tu 15. * * * * * * eli
strengthener of men(?) * * * * * * *over*


Assur am - ru 16. [a- na sa - ḫa - al salim - mi] ya
Assyria I ruled. [*To pray for*] *my* [*friendship*]

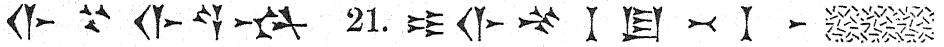

ip - ru - uṣ va 17. [nakiri] ina elappi * * *
ceased, and *enemies in ships* * * *

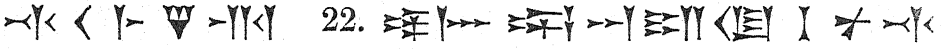

it - ti su- un 18. ina tan - ni - kil - ti a - na
with them, *pretending* *to*

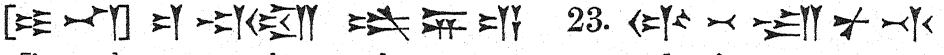

[sa - ha] - al salim - mi ya 19. a - na Ninua a - ḍi
pray for my friendship; *to* *Nineveh,* *to*

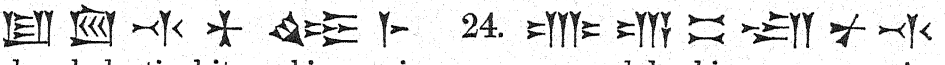

[maḥ - ri ya] is - pu - ras - su - nu - ti 20. a - na - ku
[my presence] *he sent them.* *I am*

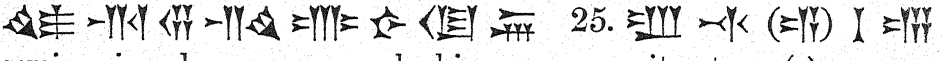

Assur - bani-pal ṣar Assur [sa] Ili rabati
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, [to whom] the great Gods'

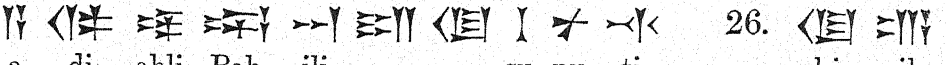

si - mat damqati 21. i - si - mu su ku - bat su ina * * *
excellent fame have *renowned him. His might in* * * *

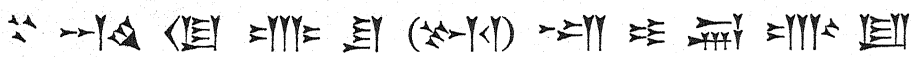

ti va mi - sa - ri 22. abli Bab - ili su - nu - ti
and dominion. *The sons of Babylon of them,*

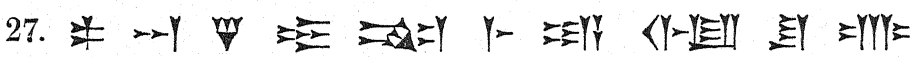

[i - na] passari tak - ne - e 23. ul - ziz ṣu - nu - ti
[in] *state* *chairs* *I set them up;*

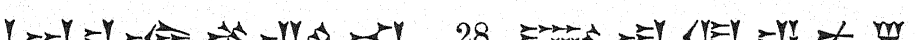

lu - bul - ti kitu bir - mi 24. u - lab - bi - ṣu - nu - ti
costly *garments* *I placed upon them,*

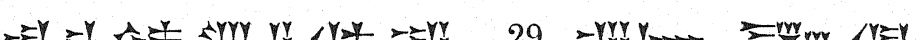

semir - ri ḥuraẓ u - rak - ki - ṣa 25. sit - te - (e) su - un
rings of gold I fastened on *their* *feet,*


a - di abli Bab - ili su - nu - ti 26. ki - rib
and the sons of Babylon of them, *in*


Assur u - su - (uz) - zu i - dag - ga - lu
Assyria they were set up, they were honoured

27. 
pa - an sa - kan ḍe - mi ya va su - u
before the giving of my command. And he


Saul -mu- gi - na 28. aḫu la ke - e - nu sa
Saulmugina, my younger brother; who


la iẓ - ẓu - ru a - di - ya 29. nisi Akkad
did not keep my agreement, the people of Akkad,


Kal - du A - ru (v. ra) - mu tam - ti 30. ul - tu
Chaldea, Aram, and the sea coast, from


A - qa - ba a - di Bab - ṣa - li - mi - ti
Aqaba to Babsalimitu,

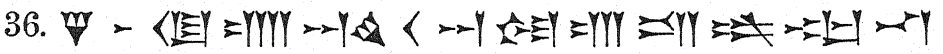
31. 
ardi da - gil pa - ni ya us - pal - kit ina qati ya
tributaries dependent on me; he caused to revolt against my hand.

32. 
va Um - man - i - gas mun - nab - tu sa iẓ - ba - tu
And Ummanigas the fugitive, who took

33. 
niru saru - ti ya sa ki - rib Elam
the yoke of my kingdom, of whom in Elam,

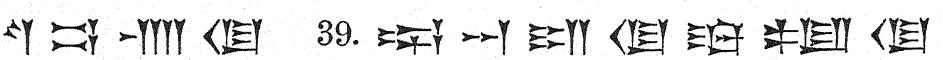
34. 
as - ku - nu - us a - na ṣar - u - ti va ṣarri
I had appointed him to the kingdom; and the kings of

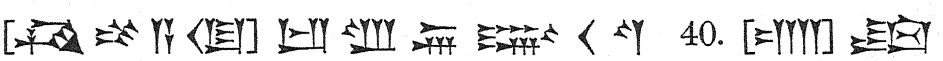

Gu - ti 35. Mar - tu Mi - luḫ - ḫe - e
Arabia (?), *Syria and* *Ethiopia,*


36. sa ina ki - bit Assur va Belat is - tak - ka - na
which, by command of Assur and Beltis, my hands


qata - ai 37. nap - ḫar su - nu it - ti ya u - san - kir va
held; all of them against me he caused to rebel, and

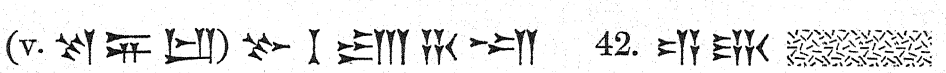

38. it - ti su is - ku - nu pi - i su - un nisi
with him they set their faces. The people of


Ṣipar 39. Bab - ili Bar - sip
Sippara, *Babylon,* *Borsippa, and*

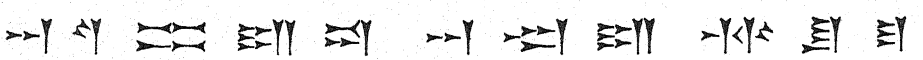

[Kutu] ip - ru - ṣa aḫ - u - ut 40. [bit] duri
[Kutha,] broke off the brotherhood, and the walls


alani sa - a - tu - nu mun - taḫ - ẓe - e su
of those cities his fighting men he

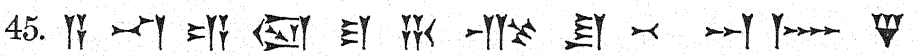

41. [u] - sat - li - ma it - ti ya [e] - ta - nap
caused to raise; with me they made


(v. te - ni - ip) - pu - su ta - ḫa - zu 42. e - pis * * * *
war, *making* * * * *

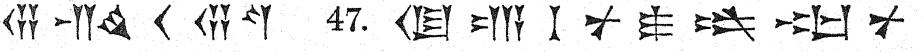

ya la pa - an Bel ablu Bel 43. nu - ur Ili
my, from the face of Bel son of Bel, the light of the Gods

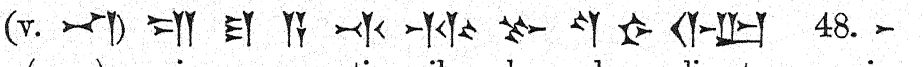

Samas qu - ra - du Ninip iq - su va
Shamas, the warrior Ninip, he revolted; and

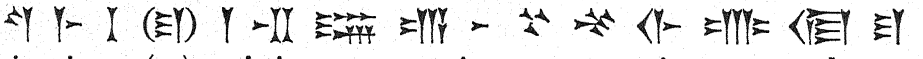

44. u - sab - di - la * * * * na - dan zi - bi ya
*he caused to cease * * * * gift of my fingers,*


45. a - na e - kim ma - ha - zi su - bat Ili sa
to capture the cities, seats of the Gods, of whom

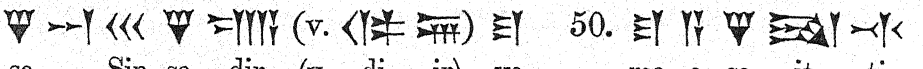

es - ri - ti su - nu 46. ud - di - su u - za - hi - i - nu
their temples I had restored, adorned with

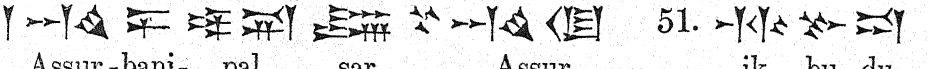

ḫuraṣ va kasap 47. ki - rib su - nu as - tak - ka - nu
gold and silver, and within them had fixed


(v. na) ṣi - ma - a - ti ik - bu - ud limut ina
images; he devised evil. In

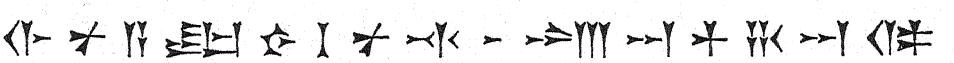

immi su (va) istin sapru ina sat mu - si u - tul va
those days, then a seer in the middle of the night, slept and


i - na - tal suttu um - ma ina eli ki - gal - li
dreamed a dream, thus: "Concerning the matter


sa Sin sa - dir (v. di - ir) va 50. ma - a sa it - ti
which Sin was arranging, and of them who against

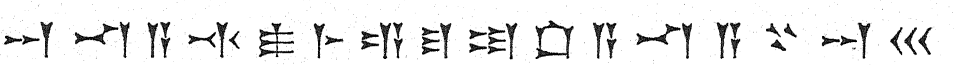

Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur 51. ik - bu - du
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, devised

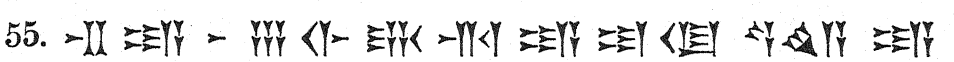

limut - tu ip - pu - su ṣe - (e) - lu - (u) - tu 52. mu - u - tu
evil. *Battle is prepared; a* *violent*


lim - nu a - sar - rak su - nu - ti ina gir parzil ḫa - an - di
death I appoint for them. With the edge of the sword,


mi - kit isati ṣunqu libit (v. li - bit)
the burning of fire, famine, and the judgment of

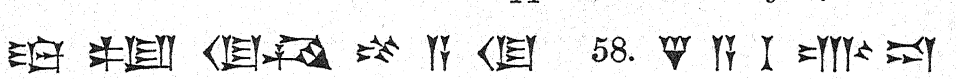

Ninip u - qat - ta - a 54. nap - sat ṣu - un
Ninip, I will destroy *their lives."*

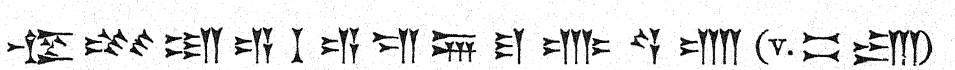

an - na - a - ti as - me - e va ad - gil a - na a - mat Sin
This I heard, and trusted to the will of Sin

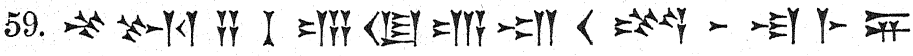

bel ya ina sassi gar - ri ya ad - ki umman ya
my lord. In my sixth expedition I gathered my army;


ẓir Saul - mu - gi - na us - te - es - se - ra
against Saulmugina I directed the


mur - ra - nu 57. ki - rib Ṣipar Bab - ili
march. *Within* *Sippara,* *Babylon,*

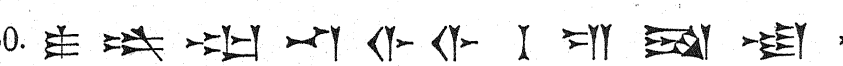

Bar - sip Kutu 58. sa - a - su ga - du
Borsippa, and Kutha, *him and part*


mun - taḫ - ṣe - e su e - ṣi - ir va u - ẓab - bit (v. bi - ta)
of his fighting men I besieged, and captured

59. 

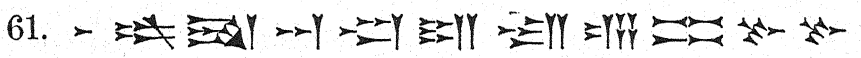
mu - uz - za su - un ki - rib alu va ṣiru ina la mi - ni

the whole of them in town and country, without number.

60. 

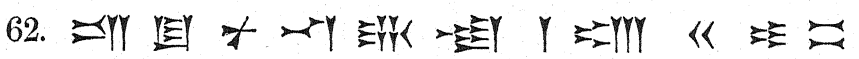
as - tak - ka - na abikta su ṣi - it - tu - ti

I accomplished his overthrow. The rest,

61. 

ina libit Ninip ṣu - un - qu bu - bu - ti

in the judgment of Ninip, drought and famine

62. 

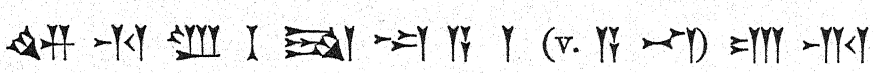
is - ku - nu na - pis - tu Um - man - i - gas ṣar

passed their lives. Ummanigas king of



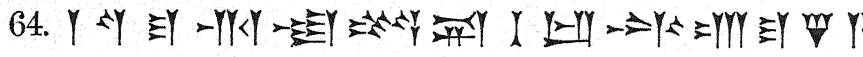
Elam si - kin qati ya sa da - ha - a - tu

Elam, appointed by my hand; who the bribe



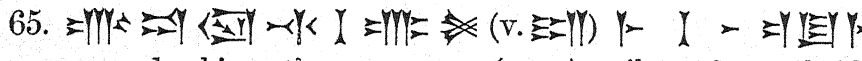
im - ḫu - ru su it - ba - a ana (v. a - na) kit - ri su

received, and came to his aid.

64. 

Tam-ma- ri - tu ṣir - us -su ip - pal - kit va sa -a -su

Tammaritu against him revolted, and him

65. 

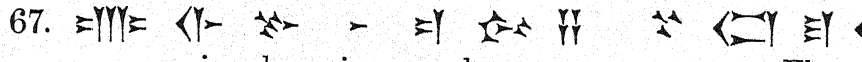
ga - du kim - ti su u - raṣ (v. ra) - ṣib su ina kakki

and part of his family he destroyed with the sword.

66. 

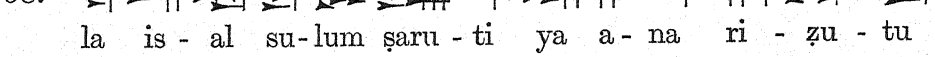
arku Tam-ma- ri - tu sa arku Um -man- i -gas

Afterwards Tammaritu, who after Ummanigas,

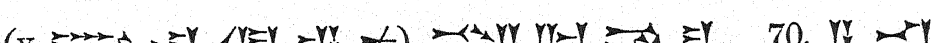
67. 

u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam

sat on the throne of Elam,

68. 
la is - al su-lum ṣaru - ti ya a - na ri - ẓu - tu
did not seek alliance with my kingdom. To the help of

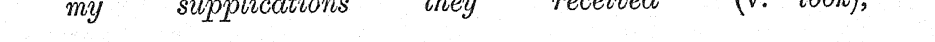
69. 
Saul - mu - gi - na aḫi nak - ri
Saulmugina my rebellious brother

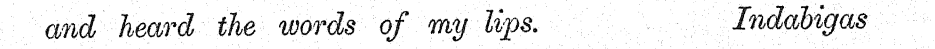
(v. ) 70.
(v. aḫu la ke - e - nu) il - lik - av - va a - na
(v. *younger brother*), *he went and to*

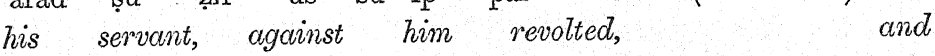

mit - ḫu - ẓi umman ya ur - ri - ḫa kakki su
fight my army, he prepared his soldiers.

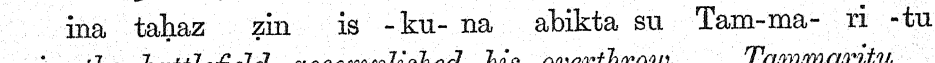
71. 
ina ṣu - up - pe - e sa Assur va Istar u - ṣap - pu - u
In prayer to Assur and Ishtar, I prayed;

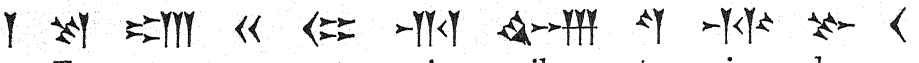
72. 
ta - ni - ḫi ya im - ḫu - ru (v. il - qu - u)
my supplications they received (v. *took*),

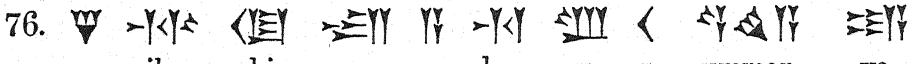

is - mu - u zi - kar sapti ya 73. In - da - bi-gas
and heard the words of my lips. *Indabigas*

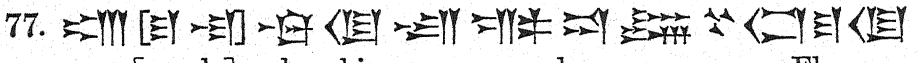

arad ṣu ẓir - us - su ip - pal - kit (v. ki - tu) va
his servant, against him revolted, *and*

74. 
ina taḫaz ẓin is - ku - na abikta su Tam-ma- ri - tu
in the battlefield accomplished his overthrow. *Tammaritu*


ṣar Elam 75.
king of Elam, *who over the decapitated head of*

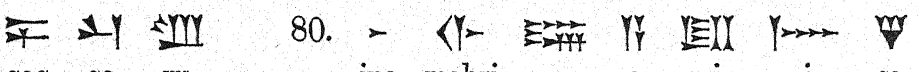

Te - um - man me - ri - iḫ - tu ig - bu - u
Teumman untruth had spoken;

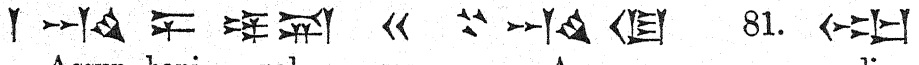
76. 
sa ik - ki - ṣu a - ḫu - ru - u umman ya
which he had cut off in sight of my army,

77. 
um [ma la] ak - ki - ṣu qaqadu ṣar Elam
thus: "I have [not] cut off the head of the king of Elam

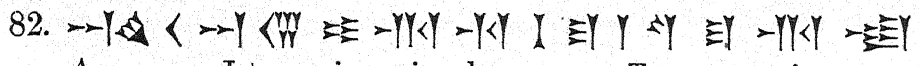
78. 
* * * *ina puḫri umman su sa - ni - ha - a-nu ig - bi
* * * **in the assembly of his army."* *Again he said:*

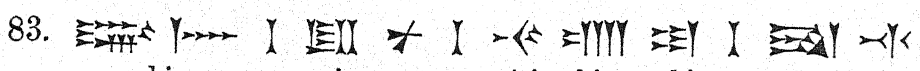
79. 
va Um - man - i - gas ke - e u - na - as - siq
"and Ummanigas only, kissed the

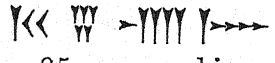

qaq - qa - ru ina maḫri a - mir - i sa
ground; in the presence of the envoys of


Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur eli
Assurbanipal king of Assyria." *For*


a - ma - a - ti an - na - a - ti sa il - zi - nu
these matters, which he had mocked,

82. 
Assur va Istar i - ri - ḫu su va Tam - ma - ri - tu
Assur and Ishtar turned from him; and Tammaritu

83. 
aḫi su qi - nu su ziri bit abi su it - ti
his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house with



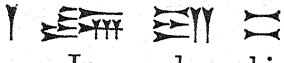
85 rubi

eighty-five princes

84. 

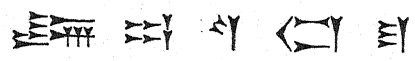
a - li -kut idi su la pa - an

going before him from the face of



In - da - bi - gas

Indabigas

85. 

in - nab - tu - niv - va

fled, and



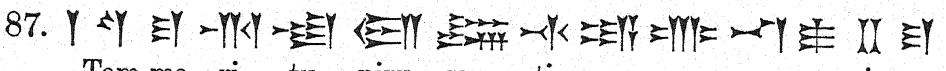
me - ra - nu - us - su - un ina eli lib - bi su - nu

their bitterness within their hearts

86. 

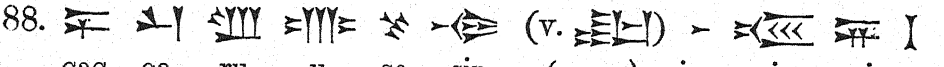
ib - si - lu - niv - va il - lik - u - ni a - di Ninua

raged, and they came to Nineveh.

87. 

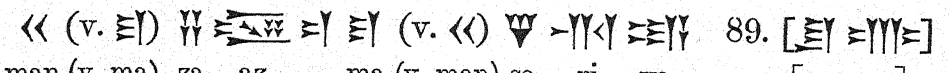
Tam-ma- ri - tu niru ṣaru - ti ya u - na - as - siq va

Tammaritu my royal feet kissed, and

88. 

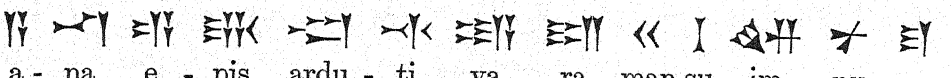
qaq - qa - ru u - se - sir (v. sar) ina ziq - ni su

earth he threw on his hair,



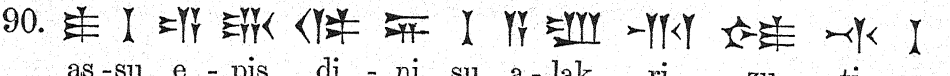
man (v. ma) - za- az ma (v. man)-sa - ri ya [su - u]

standing at my footstool(?). [He]



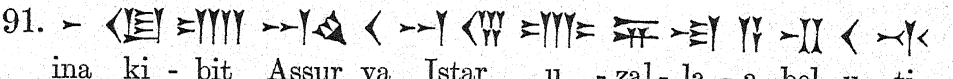
a - na e - pis ardu - ti ya ra - man su im - nu va

to do my service, himself set,

90. 

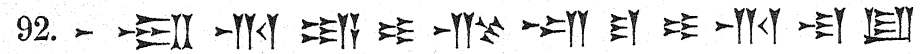
as - su e - pis di - ni su a - lak ri - ṣu - ti su

for the giving of his sentence, and going to his help.

91. 

ina ki - bit Assur va Istar u - zal - la - a bel - u - ti

By the command of Assur and Ishtar, he submitted to my dominion.

92. 

ina maḫ - ri ya i - zi - zu va i - tal - la - lu

In my presence he stood up, and glorified the

93. 

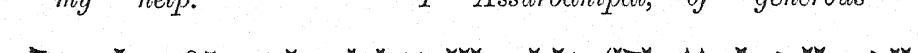
qur - di Ili ya dan - nu - ti sa il - li - ku

might of my powerful Gods, who went to



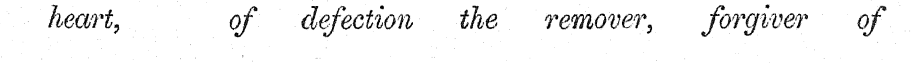
ri - ṣu - ti 94. a - na - ku Assur-bani- pal lib - bu

my help. I Assurbanipal, of generous



rap - su 95. la ka - ṣir ik - ki - mu pa - ṣi - ṣu

heart, of defection the remover, forgiver of



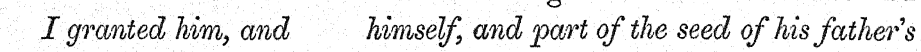
ḫi - ḍa - a - ti 96. a - na Tam-ma- ri - tu re - e - mu

sin; to Tammaritu favour



ar - si su va 97. sa - a - su ga - du ziri bit abi su

I granted him, and himself, and part of the seed of his father's



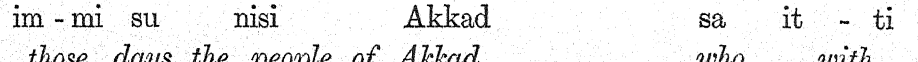
ki - rib e - kal ya 98. ul - ziz ṣu - nu - ti ina

house, within my palace I placed them. In



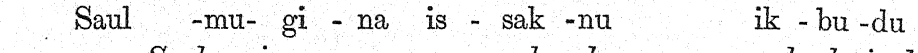
im - mi su nisi Akkad 99. sa it - ti

those days the people of Akkad, who with



Saul - mu- gi - na is - sak - nu 100. ik - bu - du

Saulmugina were placed, and devised



limut ni - ip - ri - tu iṣ - bat ṣu - nu - ti 101. a - na

evil; famine took them, for their


bu - ri su-nu ṣeri abli su-nu binti ṣu-nu
food the flesh of their sons and their daughters

102. 
e - ki - lu ik - ṣu - ṣu ku - ru - uṣ - ṣu
they did eat, and divided the * * * * *

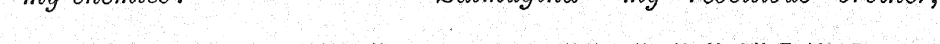
103. 
Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

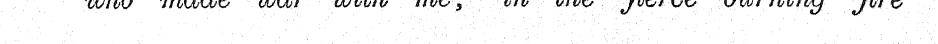
104. 
Istar sa Ninua Il ṣar - rat kit - mu - ri
Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

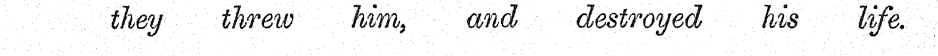
105. 
Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku,

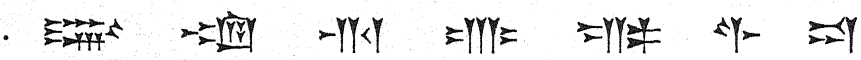
106. 
sa ina maḥ - ri ya il - li - ku i - na - ru
who in my presence marched and destroyed

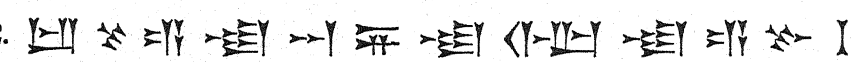

ga - ri ya Saul - mu - gi - na aḫi nak - ri
my enemies: *Salmugina my rebellious brother,*

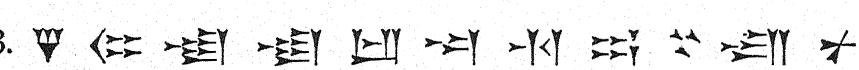
108. 
sa i - gi - ra an - ni ina me - kit isati a - [ri] - ri
who made war with me; in the fierce burning fire

109. 
id - du su va u - ḫal - li - qu nap - sat ṣu
they threw him, and destroyed his life.

110. 
va nisi sa a - na Saul - mu - gi - na
And the people who to Saulmugina

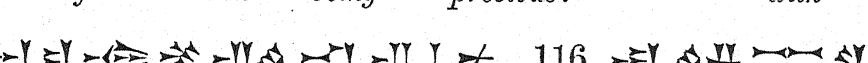
111. 
aḫi nak - ri u - sak - pi - du
my rebellious brother, he had caused to join,

112. 
ip - se - e - tu an - ni - tu limut - tu e - pu - su
and these evil things did;

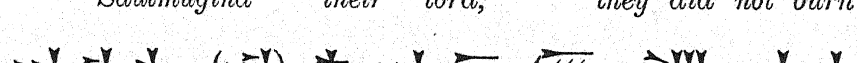
113. 
sa me - tu - tu ib - ba - ḫu nap - sat ṣu - nu
who death deserved, their lives

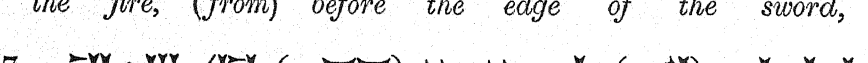
114. 
pa - nu - us - su - un te - bis - u va
before them being precious:

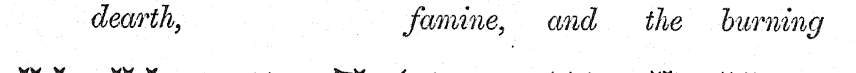
115.
it - ti
with


Saul - mu - gi - na bel su - nu
Saulmugina their lord,

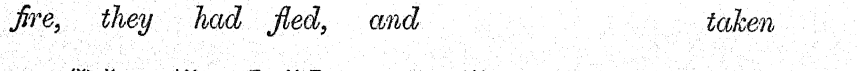
116.
la im - qu - tu
they did not burn

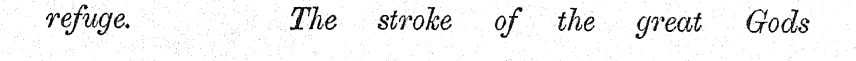

ina isati (la) pa - an ni - kiṣ gir parzil
in the fire, (from) before the edge of the sword,

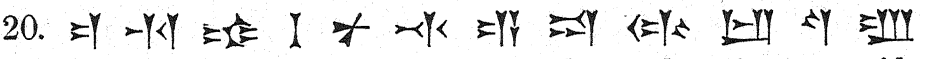
117. 
ṣu - un - ki (v. qu) bu - bu - ti (v. tu) isati
dearth, famine, and the burning

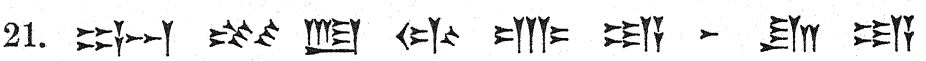

a - ri - ri i - se - tu - u - ni
fire, they had fled, and

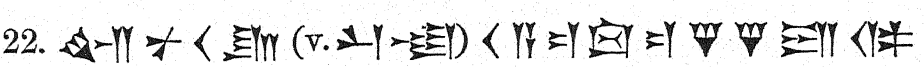
118.
e - ḫu - zu
taken

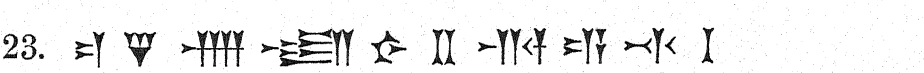

mar - ki - tu [ti] - bu - ut Ili rabati
refuge. The stroke of the great Gods

119. 
beli ya sa la na - par - su - di
my lords, which was not removed

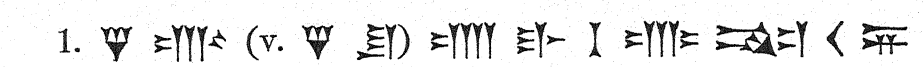
120. 
iṣ - ḫu - up su - nu - ti e - du ul ip - par - sid
overwhelmed them. One did not flee,

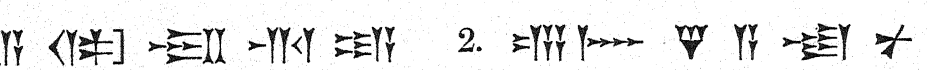
121. 
mul - taḫ - ḍu ul u - ẓi ina qati ya
a sinner did not escape from my hands,

122. 
im - nu - u qatu (v. qa - tu) - u a ruqubi sa - da - di
my hands held [them]. Powerful war chariots,

123. 
ruqubi zil - li zik - re - e - ti su
covered chariots, his concubines [and]

Column V.

1. 
sa - ga (v. sa - su) e - kal su u - bil - u - ni
the goods (v. furniture) of his palace, they brought


[a - ḍi] maḫ - ri ya
[to] my presence.

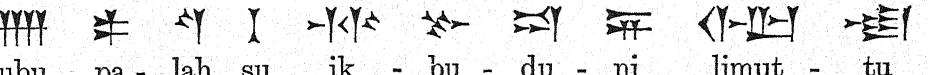
2.
nisi sa - a - tu - nu
Those men [who] the

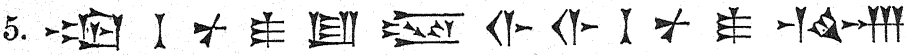

suq - la - tu pi - i su - nu
curses of their mouth,

3.
eli Assur Ili ya
against Assur my God


suq - la - tu ig - bu - u
curses uttered;

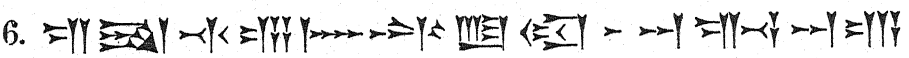
4.
[va] ya - a - ti
[and against] me, the


rubu pa - laḫ su ik - bu - du - ni limut - tu
prince his worshipper, had devised evil:

5. 

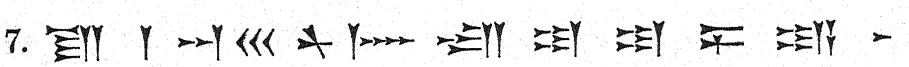
lisan su-nu as-lu-uk abikta su-nu as-kun

their tongues I pulled out, their overthrow I accomplished.

6. 

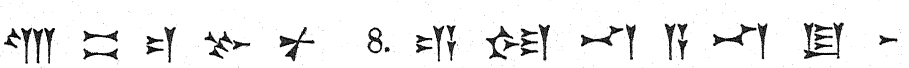
ṣi-it-ti nisi bal-ḍu-ṣun ina sedi alapi

The rest of the people alive among the stone lions and bulls,

7. 

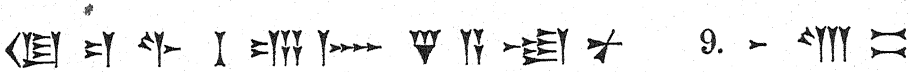
sa Sin-aḥi-irba abu abi bani ya ina

which Sennacherib the grandfather my begetter, in the



lib-bi iṣ-pu-nu e-nin-na a-na-ku ina

midst had thrown; again I in



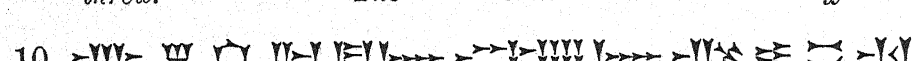
ki-iz-pi su nisi sa-a-tu-nu ina lib-bi

that pit, those men in the midst



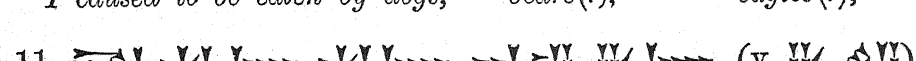
aṣ-pu-un ṣeri nu-uk-ku-ṣu-(u)-ti

threw. The limbs cut off

10. 

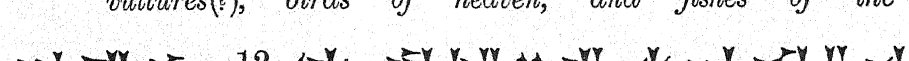
u-sa-kil kalbi dabi zi-i-bi-ḫu

I caused to be eaten by dogs, bears(?), eagles(?),

11. 

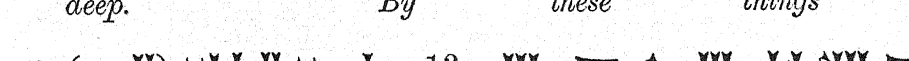
id-ḫu-i izzuri same nuni (v. nuni)

vultures(?), birds of heaven, and fishes of the



ab-ṣi-i ul-tu ip-se-e-ti an-na-a-ti

deep. By these things

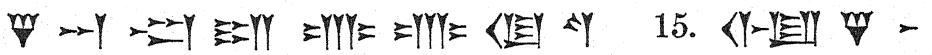


i (v. e)-te-ep-pu-su u-ni-iḫ-ḫu lib-bi

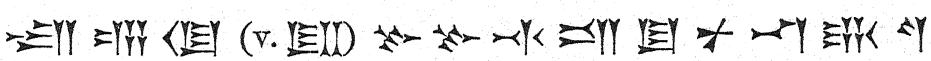
[*which*] *were done, I satisfied the hearts of the*



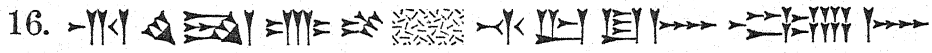
Ili rabati beli ya 14. pagari nisi
great Gods my lords. The bodies of the men



sa Ninip u - sam - ki - tu 15. va sa ina
whom Ninip had destroyed, and who in



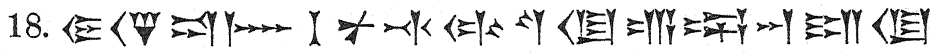
ṣu - un - ki (v. qi) bu - bu - ti is - ku - nu na - pis - tu
drought and famine had passed their lives;



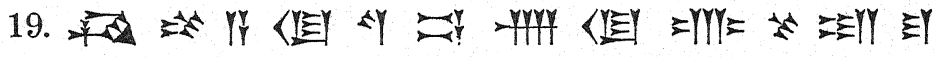
16. ri - hi - it u - gab * * ti kalbi dabi
* * * * * * * * * * *dogs, bears,*



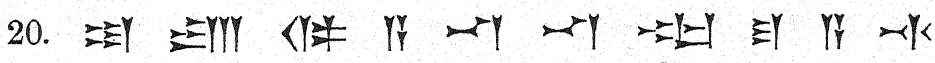
17. sa - tur - i bur - ru * * * * iz - lu - u ri - ba - a - ti
*saturi, burru * * * * grew (?) fat.*



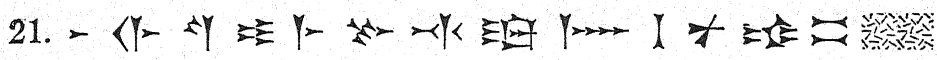
18. ner-pad-du - i su-nu- ti ul - tu ki - rib Bab - ili
Their attendants from the midst of Babylon,



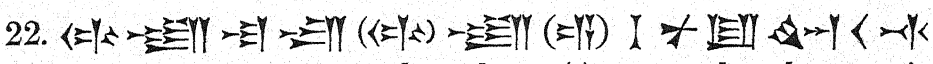
19. Kutu Ṣipar u - se ṣi va
Kutha and Sippara, I brought out



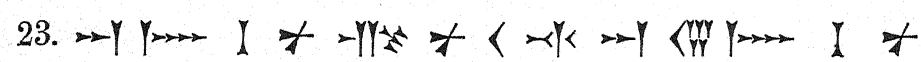
20. at - ta - di a - na na - ka - ma - a - ti
and placed in slavery.



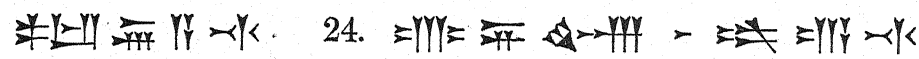
21. ina si - par i - sib - bu - ti parakki su-nu ub - bi * *
In splendour, the seats of their sanctuaries I built (?).



22. ul - le - la ṣu - (ul) - le - (e) su-nu lu - hu - u - ti
I raised their glorious (?) towers.



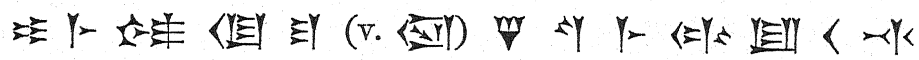
23. Ili su-nu zi-nu-u-ti Istari su-nu
Their Gods dishonoured (?), their Goddesses



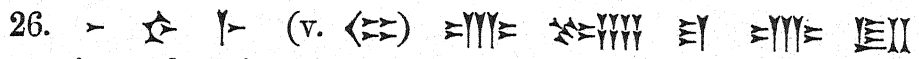
ṣap-ṣa-a-ti 24. u-ni-iḫ ina tak-kal-ti
desecrated (?), I rested in purple



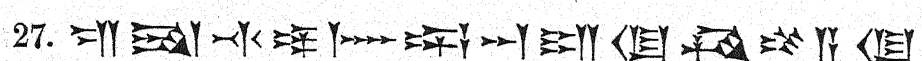
va unninnu (?) 25. vad-duk-ki su-un sa
and hangings (?). [Their institutions, which



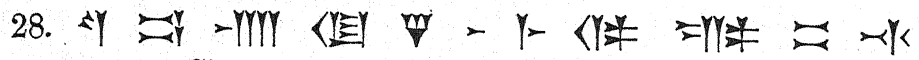
i-mi-ṣu ki-ma (v. kima) sa im-mi ul-lu-u-ti
they had removed, like in days of old,



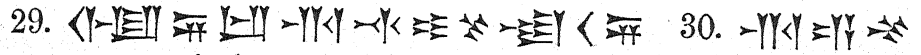
26. ina sal-mi (v. me) u-tir va u-kin
in peace I restored and settled.



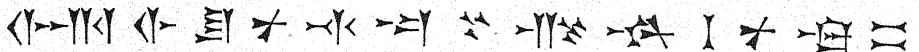
27. ṣi-it-ti abli Bab-ili Kutu
The rest of the sons of Babylon, Kuthu,



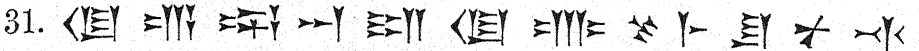
28. Ṣipar sa ina sib-di sak-bi-ti
and Sippara, who under chastisement, suffering,



29. va ni-ip-ri-ti i-se-tu-u-ni 30. re-e-mu
and privation had fled; favour



ar-si su-nu-ti ba-laḳ napis-ti su-nu ag-bi
I granted them, the saving of their lives I commanded:



31. ki-rib Bab-ili u-se-sib su-nu-ti
in Babylon I seated them.



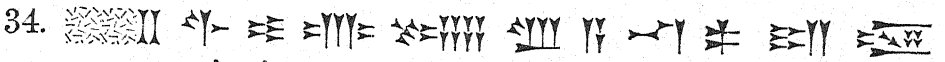
32. nisi Akkad ga - du Kal - du
The people of Akkad, and some of Chaldea,



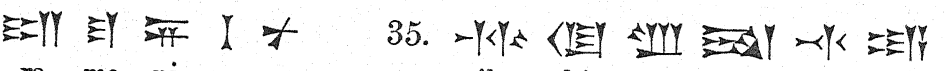
A - ra (v. ru) - mu 33. tam - ti
Aram and the sea;



sa Saul - mu - gi - na ik - tir - u va
whom Saulmugina had gathered,



* * - pi - i u - tir - ru a - na pa - ra - az
* * *returned to their own*



ra - ma - ni su - nu 35. ik - ki - ru it - ti ya
districts. *They revolted against me.*



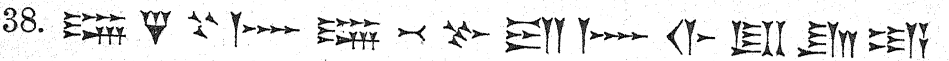
ina ki - bit Assur va Belat 36. va Ili - rabati
By command of Assur and Beltis and the great Gods



tig - li ya a - na pat gim - ri su-nu ak - bu - uṣ
my protectors, on the whole of them I trampled,



niru Assur sa iz - lu - u e -mid ṣu - nu - ti
the yoke of Assur which they had thrown off, I fixed on them;



sanuti bat- bu - da - i(?) si - kin qati ya
prefects and rulers appointed by my hand,

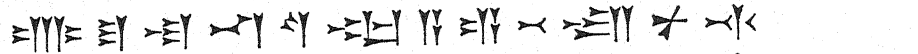


as - tak - ka - na e - li su-un 40. di - ka - i
I established over them. *The institutions*

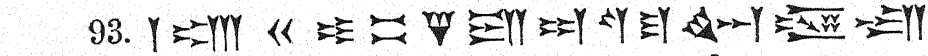

gi - ne - e (v. nu - u) ris - i Assur va Belat
and high ordinances(?) of Assur and Beltis,

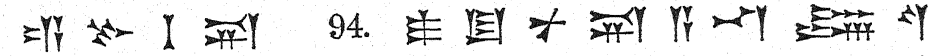
41. 
va Ili Assur u - kin ṣir - us - su - un
and the Gods of Assyria, I fixed upon them;

42. 
bil - tu man- da - at - ti belu- ti ya 43. mat- ti
taxes and tribute to my dominion, of the country

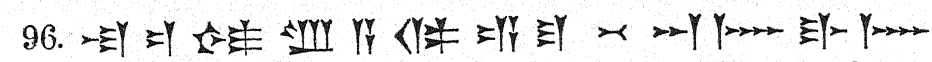

sum - ma la na - par- ka - a e - mid ṣu - nu - ti
the sum undiminished I fixed on them.

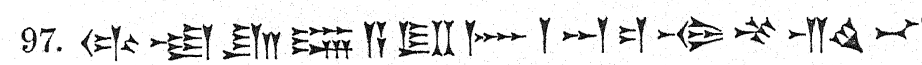
CYLINDER B, COLUMN VI, LINE 93, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 87.

93. 
Um - man- i - gas sa ḍa - ab - tu ma- ha - aṣ ṣu
Ummanigas, whom, great benefits I

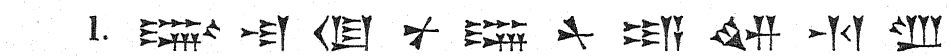

e - bu - su- us as - ku - nu - us a - na ṣaru - ut
had given him, and appointed him to the kingdom of


Elam sa damqa - ti la ḥa - aṣ - ṣu
Elam; who the favour disregarded, and

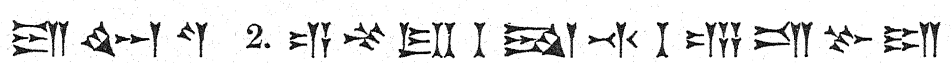

la iṣ - zu - ru a - de - e ma - mit Ili rabati
did not keep the agreement and oath of the great Gods.


ul - tu qati a - mir - i Saul - mu- gi - na
From the hands of the messengers of Saulmugina

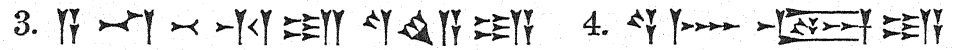
Column VII.



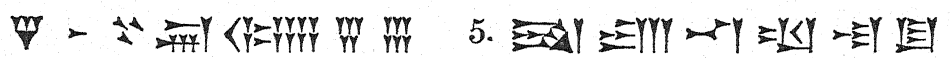
1. aḫu la ke nu nakiri ya im ḫu - ru
my younger brother, my enemy, he received a



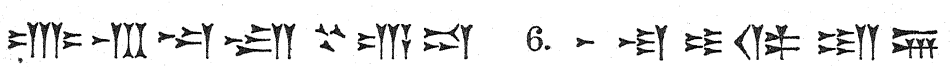
da - ha - tu 2. e - mu - qi su it - ti su - un is - pu - ra
bribe. His forces with them he sent



3. a - na mit - ḫu - ẓi umman ya 4. ẓabi taḫaz ya
to fight my army, my men of war,



sa ina Gan - dun - ya - as 5. it - ta - na - al - la - ku
who in Ganduniyas marched, and



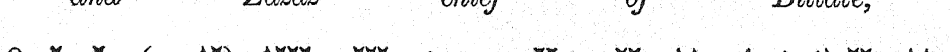
u - kib - ba - ṣu Kal - du 6. ina la i - di ẓi - ir
trampled on Chaldea. Against my hand(?) unto



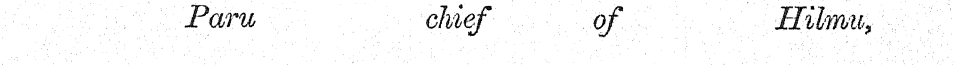
Un - da - ṣi 7. ablu Te - um - man ṣar Elam
Undasi son of Teumman king of Elam,



8. va Zazaz niru Bil - la - te
and Zazaz chief of Billate,

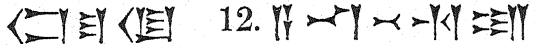


9. Pa (v. par) - ru - u niru Ḫi - il - mu
Paru chief of Hilmu,



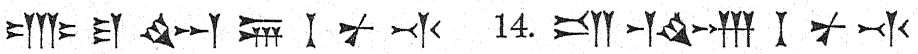
10. At - ta - mi - tu nis rab mitpanu 11. Ne - e - su
Attametu commander of the archers, and Nesu


a-lik pa-ni umman sa Elam
leader of the army of Elam,

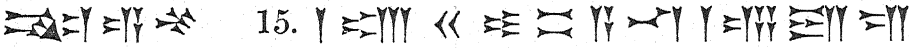
12. 
a-na mit-ḫu-ṣi
to fight


it-ti umman Assur
with the army of Assyria,

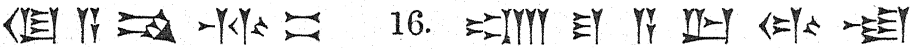
13. 
Um-man-i-gas
Ummanigas


u-ma-ḫi-ir su-nu-ti
sent them, and

14.
is-kun su-nu-ti
appointed them


ḍe-e-mu
a decree.

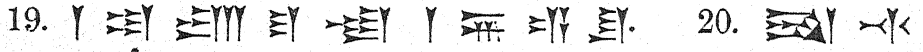
15.
Um-man-i-gas a-na Un-da-ṣi
Ummanigas to Undasi,


ki-a-am ig-bi
even said,

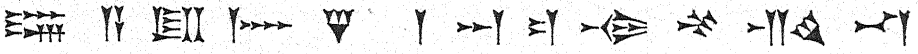
16.
um-ma a-lik ul-tu
thus: Go; against

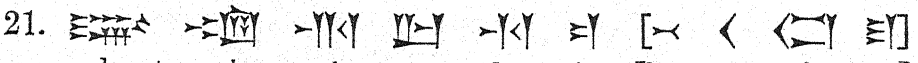

Assur tir-ra tuk-te-e abi ba-ni ki
Assyria revenge the slaying of the father thy begetter.

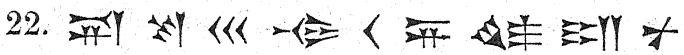
18. 
Un-da-ṣu Za-za-az Pa-ru-u
Undasu, Zazaz, Paru,

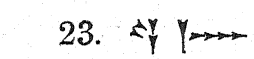
19. 
Aṭ-ta-mi-tu Ne-e-su
Attamitu and Nesu,

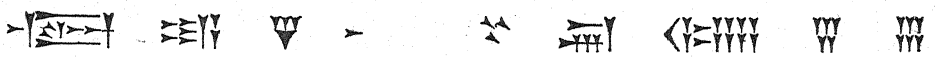
20.
it-ti
with

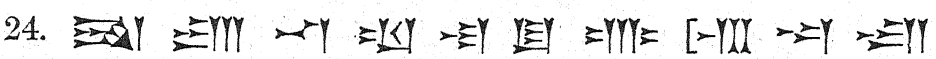

a-mir-i sa Saul-mu-gi-na
the messengers of Saulmugina

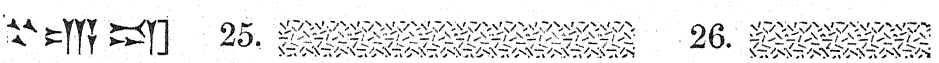
21. 
aḫu nak-ri ur-ḫu iṣ-[bat-u-niv-va]
my rebellious brother; took the road, and

22. 
us - te - es - sir - u - ni mur - ra - nu .
directed the march.

23. 
ẓabi
My men

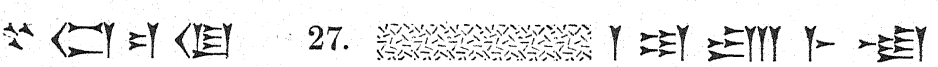

taḫaz ya sa ina Gan - dun - ya - as
of war, who in Ganduniyas

24. 
it - ta - na - al - la - ku u - [kib - ba - ṣu
marched, and trampled [on


Kal - du]
Chaldea]

25.
* * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * *

26.
* * * *
* * * *


Elam
Elam

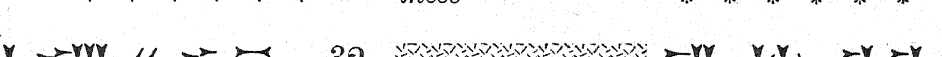
27.
* * * * *
* * * * *
At - ta - mi - tu
Attamitu

28. 
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
[ik - ki] - ṣu - niv - va
they cut off and

29. 
[u - bil - u - ni a - di] maḥ - ri ya
[brought to] my presence.

30. 
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
an - na - a - ti
these

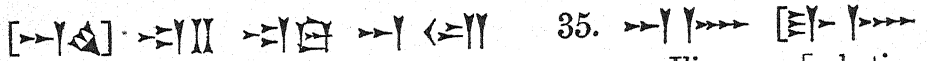
31.
* * * * * *
* * * * * *


Um - man - i - gas
Ummanigas

32.
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
si ik - la va
he ceased and

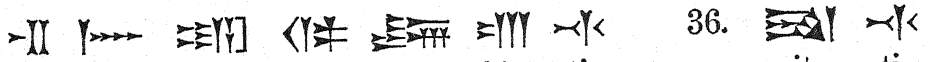
33. 
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
ti a - mat ya
my will

34.
* * * * * *
* * * * * *



[Assur] Bel Nabu Nergal 35. Ili [rabati

[Assur], Bel, Nebo and Nergal, *the [great] Gods*



beli ya] di - in kit - ti 36. it - ti

[my lords;] a certain judgment *against*



Um -man-i-gas i - di -nu in - ni 37. Tam-ma- ri - tu

Ummanigas, appointed me. *Tammaritu,*



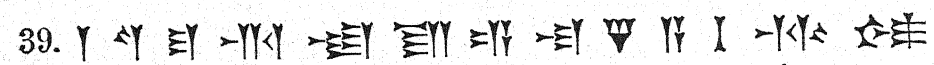
ṣir - us - su ip - pal - kit va 38. sa - a - su ga - du

against him revolted, and *him and part*



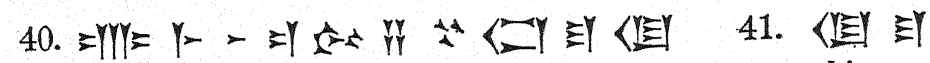
kim - ti su u - ra - ṣib ina kakki

of his family, he destroyed with the sword.



39. Tam-ma - ri - tu sa e - la sa - a - su iq - ṣu

Tammaritu who over him triumphed,



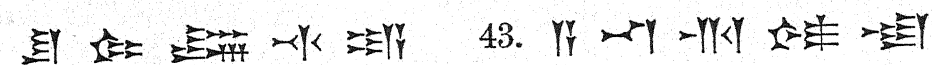
40. u - sib ina kuzzu Elam 41. ki -ma

sat on the throne of Elam. *Like*



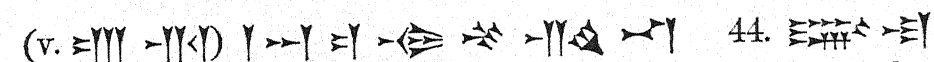
sa - a - su va da - ha - a - tu im - ḫar 42. ul is - al

him also, a bribe he received; *he did not seek*



su - lum ṣaru - ti ya 43. a - na ri - ṣu - tu

alliance with my kingdom. *To the help*

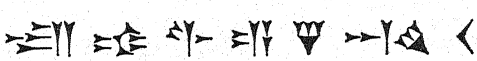


(v. kit - ri) Saul - mu - gi - na 44. aḫu la

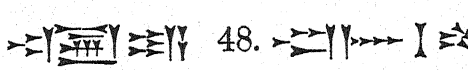
(v. *aid*) *of Saulmugina* *my younger*

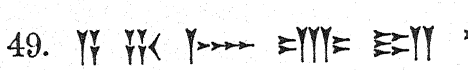

ke - e -nu il - lik - av -va 45. a - na mit-ḫu - uz - zi
brother he went, and *to fight*


umman ya ur - ri - ḫa kakki su 46. ina
my army he prepared his soldiers. *In*

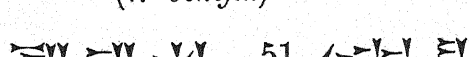

ṣu - up - pe - e sa Assur va Istar u - ṣap - pu - u
prayer Assur and Ishtar I had prayed;


ta - ni - ḫi ya im - ḫu - ru is - mu - u zi - kar
my supplication they received, and heard the words of

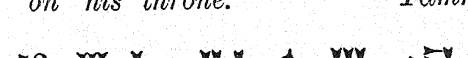

ṣapti ya ardi su zir - us -su ip - pal - ki - tu va
my lips. *His servants against him revolted, and*

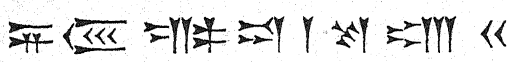

a - ha - mis u - ra - ṣi - bu adi limut ya
each other they destroyed, to my evil

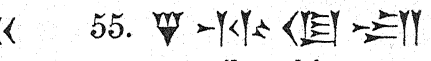

(v. damqati ya) In - da - bi -gas arad ṣu
(v. *benefit.*) *Indabigas his servant, who*


sa ṣi - ḫu eli su u - sab - su - u u - sib
the revolt *against him made,* *sat*


ina kuzzu su Tam-ma- ri - tu ṣar Elam
on his throne. *Tammaritu king of Elam,*

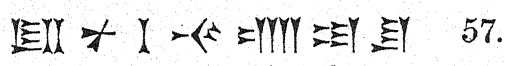

sa mi - ri - iḫ - tu ig - bu - u eli
who untruth had spoken, *concerning*

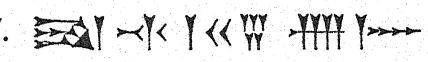

ni - kis qaqadu Te - um - man
the decapitated head of Teumman;

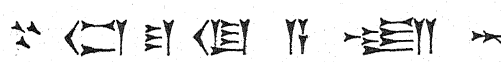
55. 
sa ik - ki - ṣu
which he had cut off


a - ḫu - ru - u umman ya
in sight of my army:

56. 
va aḫi su
and his brothers,

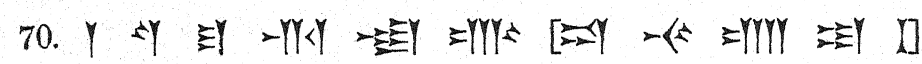

qi - nu su ziri bit abi su
his kin, the seed of his father's house,

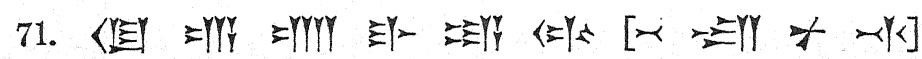
57. 
it - ti 85 rubi
with eighty-five princes of

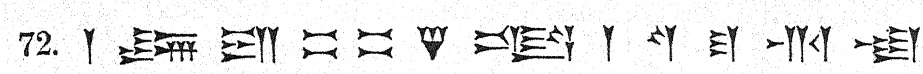

Elam a - li - kut i - di idi su
Elam, marching before him;

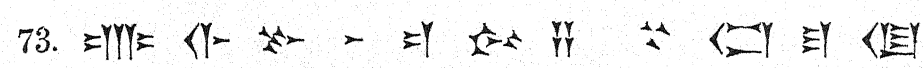
58. 
sa la pa - an kakki Assur va Istar ip - par - su - du
who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled,


va (59 to 68 lost.) 69. * * * e a * * * * *
and * * * * * * * * * *


Tam - ma - ri - tu ga - [du ziri bit abi su]
Tammaritu and part [of the seed of his fathers house]


ki - rib e - kal ya ul - [ziz ṣu - nu - ti]
in my palace I placed [them].

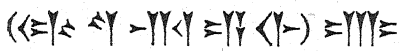

In - da - bi - gas sa arku Tam - ma - ri - tu
Indabigas who after Tammaritu,


u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam
sat on the throne of Elam;

74.  75. 

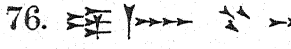
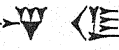
da - na - an kakki ya e - mur va sa

the power of my servants saw, whom



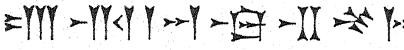
(ul - tu re - e - si) u - sam - ri - ru eli Elam

(*from the first*) *I had caused to march over Elam.*

76.  77. 

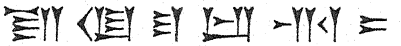
abli Assur sa as - pu - ra a - na

The sons of Assur, whom I sent to



kit - ri Nabu - bel - zikri ablu Maruduk - bal - iddina

aid Nebobelzikri the son of Merodachbaladan,



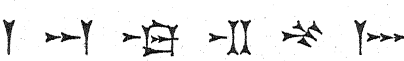
sa ki - ma ip - ri tap - pe - e - a na - ṣir mata su

who like an earth-wall guarding his country,



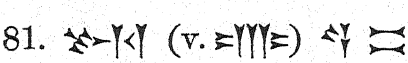
it - ta - na - al - la - ku it - ti su sa

marched with him; whom



Nabu - bel - zikri ina pi - ir - za - a - ti

Nebobelzikri by treachery



uṣ (v. u) -ṣab - bi - tu u - bi - lu it - ti su ina

had captured, and taken with him in a



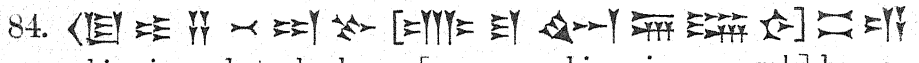
ki - li In - da - bi - gas ṣar Elam

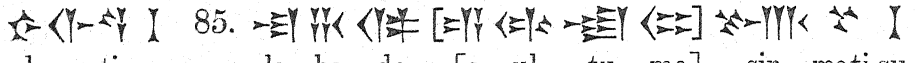
boat. Indabigas king of Elam,

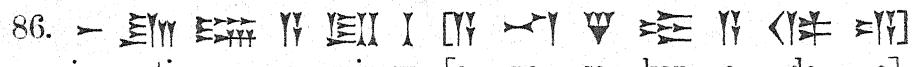


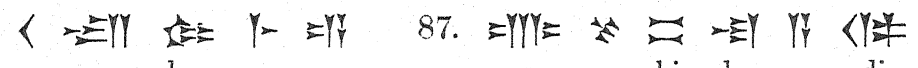
ul - tu bit abi [su] u - se - ṣa - as - su - nu - ti

from the house of [his] fathers sent them.

84. 
ki - i ṣa-bat ab - bu [u -ma- hi - ir rak]-be- e
When [their] capture I commanded, [he sent his] good

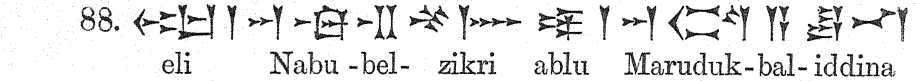

damqati su 85. la ḥa- de - [e ul - tu me]- ṣir mati su
messengers, sorrowfully [from the] border of his country.

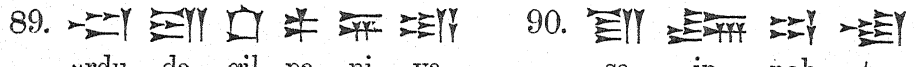
86. 
ina qati a - mir su [a - na sa - kan a - de - e]
By the hand of his envoy, [to make agreement]

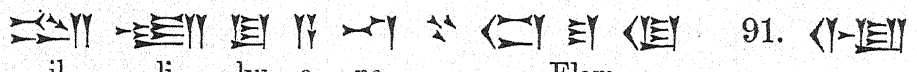

va ṣu - lum - me - e 87. u - se - bi - la a - di
and alliance; he sent to

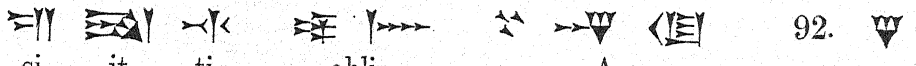

maḥ - ri (v.mahri) ya
my presence.

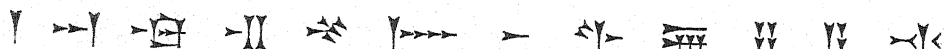
CONTINUED ON CYLINDER C.

88. 
eli Nabu -bel- zikri ablu Maruduk-bal- iddina
About Nebobelzikri son of Merodachbaladan,

89. 
ardu da - gil pa - ni ya 90. sa in - nab - tu
tributary dependent on me; who fled,


il - li - ku a - na Elam 91. va
and went to Elam: and


ṣi - it - ti abli Assur 92. sa
the rest of the sons of Assur, whom



Nabu - bel - zikri ina pi - ir - za - a - ti

Nebobelzikri by treachery



93. u -ẓab-bi - tu u - bi - lu it - ti su 94. ina

had captured, and taken with him. By the



qati a - mir su a - na In - da - bi-gas 95. ki - a - am

hand of his envoy to Indabigas, even I



as-pur su va 96. [as]-su nisi sa - a - tu -nu - (te) la

sent to him also, If those men thou dost not



tu - se - bi - la 97. um - ma al - la - kav - va alani ka

send, thus; I will march; thy cities



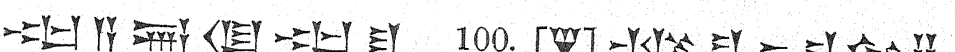
a - na - qar 98. nisi Su - sa - an Ma-dak - tu

I will destroy; the people of Shushan, Madaktu and



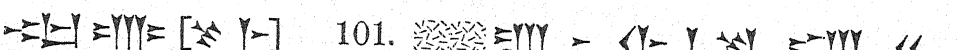
Ḥi - da - lu a - sal - lal 99. [ul] - tu kuzzu ṣaru - ti

Hidalu, I will carry off; from thy royal throne,



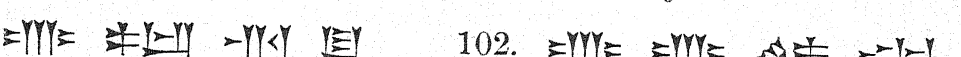
ka a - dak - ki ka va 100. [sa] nam - ma ina kuzzu

I will hurl thee; and another on thy throne,



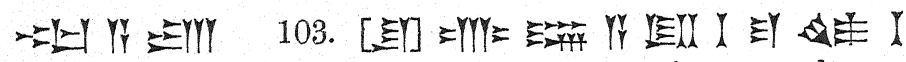
ka u - [se - sib] 101. * * mis ina pan Te - um - man

I will seat. As, formerly Teumman

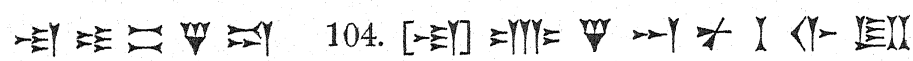


u - sap - ri - ku 102. u - sam - ḥar ka

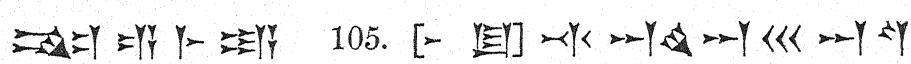
I crushed; I will cause to destroy thee,



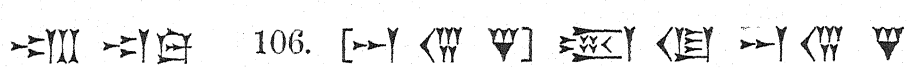
ka - a - ta 103. [su] - u a - mir su ma- ḫar su
[*this is*] *to thee.* *He, his envoy before him*



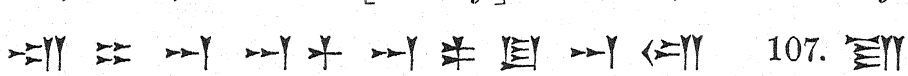
la i - bi - sa - du 104. [la] u - sa - an - nu su si - kin
did not come, *did* [*not*] *repeat to him the fixing*



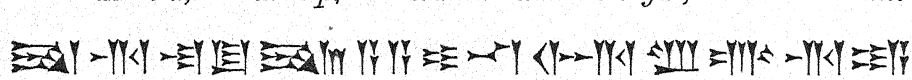
ḍe - e - mi ya 105. [ina tugul]- ti Assur Sin Samas
of my will. [*In*] *the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,*



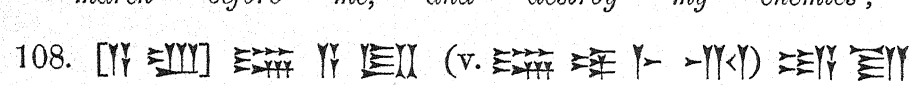
Bel Nabu 106. [Istar sa] Ninua Istar sa
Bel, Nebo, [*Ishtar of*] *Nineveh, Ishtar of*



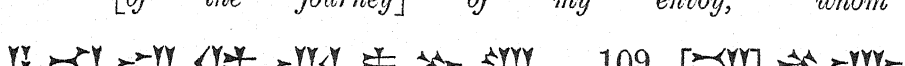
Arba - il Ninip Nusku Nergal 107. sa
Arbela, Ninip, Nusku and Nergal, *who*



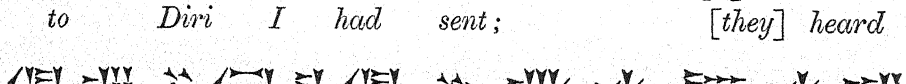
it - tal - la - ku ida - ai i - na - ar - ru ga - ri ya
march before me, and destroy my enemies;



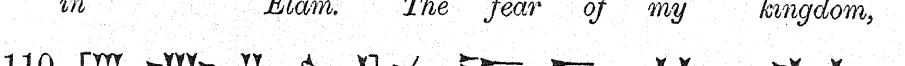
[a - lak] a - mir (a(?)-mi - ri) ya sa
[*of the journey*] *of my envoy, whom*



a - na Di - ri as - pu - ru 109. [is] - mu- u
to Diri I had sent; [*they*] *heard*

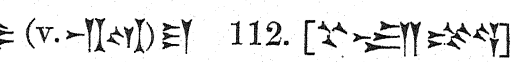


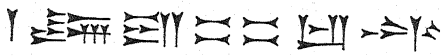
ki - rib Elam. pu - luḫ - ti ṣaru - ti ya
in Elam. *The fear of my kingdom,*

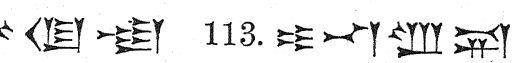


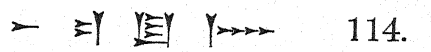
[sa u - za - ḫi] - nu in - ni Ili rabati
[*which was*] *preserved to me by the great Gods;*

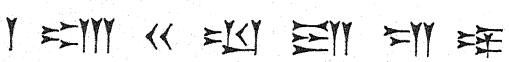
111. 
Elam is-ḥu-up (v. ḥup) va
Elam overwhelmed, and

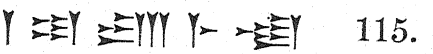
112. 
[mat ṣu ẓir]
[his country against]

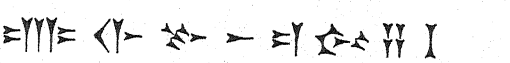

In-da-bi-gas ip-pal-ki-tu
Indabigas revolted,

113. 
i-na-ru-us
and they destroyed him

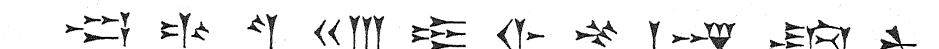

ina kakki
with the sword.

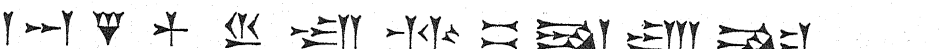
114. 
Um-man-al-da-ṣi ablu
Ummanaldasi son of


At-ta-mi-tu
Attamitu,

115. 
u-si-bu ina kuzzu su
sat on his throne.

Date at close of a Proclamation to the Babylonians, K, 84.

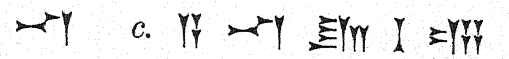

Araḥ Airu immi 23 lim-mu Assur-dur-uzur
Month Iyyar, twenty-thrid day, eponym Assurduruzur.

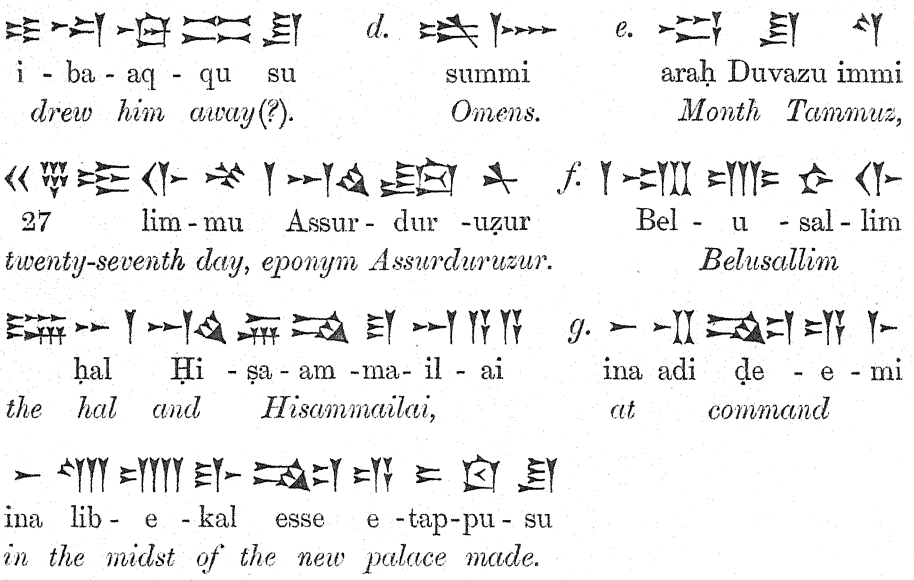

Sa-mas-baladṣu-ig-bi it-ta-bel
Shamasbaladsuigbi brought [it].

Omen Tablet Fragment.

a. 
A-na Babili i-tir-ru
To Babylon they turned,

b. 
Saul-mu-gi-na
Saulmugina

c. 
a-na qati su-un
to their hands they



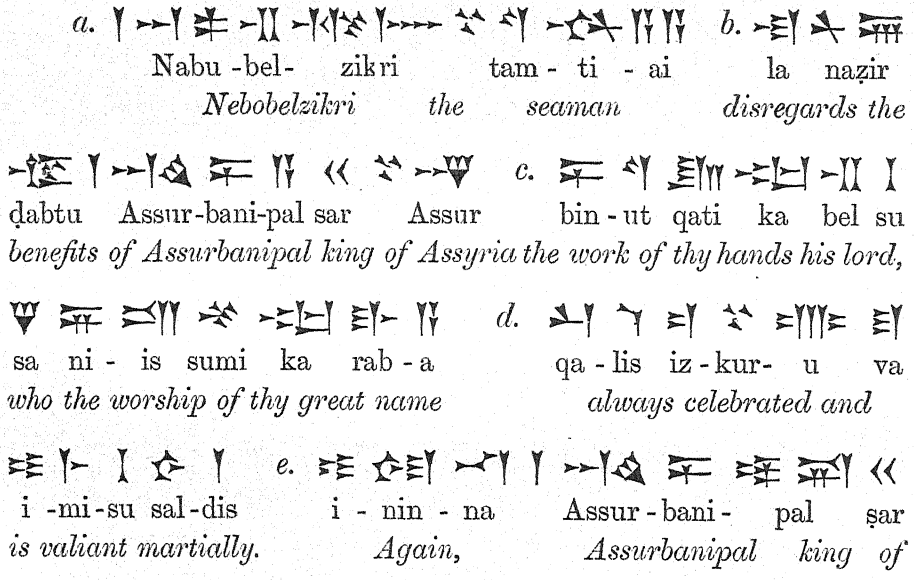
i - ba - aq - qu su — summi — *d.* — araḫ Duvazu immi — *e.*
drew him away(?). — *Omens.* — *Month Tammuz,*

27 lim - mu Assur - dur - uṣur — Bel - u - sal - lim — *f.*
twenty-seventh day, eponym Assurduruzur. — *Belusallim*

ḫal Ḫi - ṣa - am - ma - il - ai — ina adi ḍe - e - mi — *g.*
the hal and Hisammailai, — *at command*

ina lib - e - kal esse e - tap - pu - su
in the midst of the new palace made.

Passage at the close of Omen Tablet K, 159.



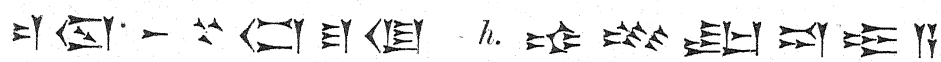
Nabu - bel - zikri tam - ti - ai la naẓir — *a.* — *b.*
Nebobelzikri the seaman disregards the

ḍabtu Assur-bani-pal sar Assur bin - ut qati ka bel su — *c.*
benefits of Assurbanipal king of Assyria the work of thy hands his lord,

sa ni - is sumi ka rab - a — qa - lis iz - kur - u va — *d.*
who the worship of thy great name — *always celebrated and*

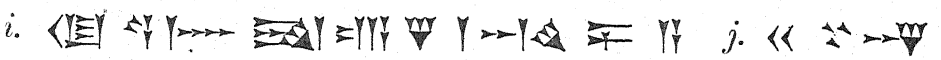
i - mi - su sal - dis — i - nin - na — Assur - bani - pal ṣar — *e.*
is valiant martially. — *Again,* — *Assurbanipal king of*

Assur — pa - luḫ ka is - mu - u va — um - ma — *f.* — *g.*
Assyria — *thy worshipper has heard also* — *this:*



mitpanu ina Elam *h.* up - taḥ - ḥar illiku (?)

"The archers in Elam have gathered and marched



i. itti ṣabi id - dan sa Assur - bani - pal sar Assur *j.*

with the men belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria,



lu - u Assur - ai *k.* lu - u Akkad

the Assyrians, the Akkadians,



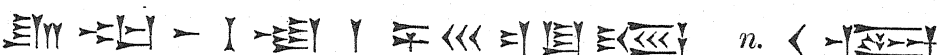
lu - u kal - da - ai *l.* lu - u

the Chaldeans, and the



Gun - dun - i sa niri Assur-bani-pal *m.* bin - ut

Gandunians, who the yoke of Assurbanipal the work



qati ka * * tu ana epes kakki qabal *n.* va taḥaz

of thy hands have rejected (?) to make fighting, war and battle



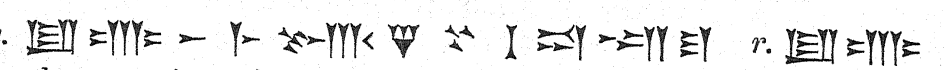
itti su - nu im - maḥ - ḥa - a - ṣa *o.* ul - ḍabu

with them he was prepared. Not good,



p. e - ẓib sa - du va lu - u ina mi - ṣir sa Elam

excepting the mountain which is in the border of Elam,



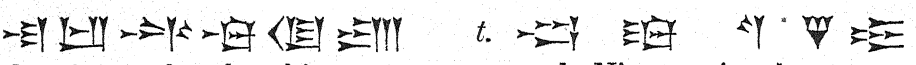
q. lu - u ina mi - ṣir sa mati su uzzizu va *r.* lu - u

which along the border of his country joined, and which

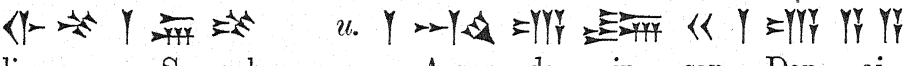


a - na pul - luḥ lu - u a - na ẓa-bat qati *s.* va mi - ṣir

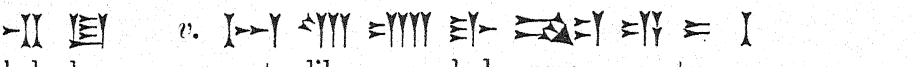
through fearing to be captured in hand, the border



la ip - pal - ak - ki - ta — *t.* araḫ Nisannu immi 4
did not revolt. — *Month Nisan, fourth day,*

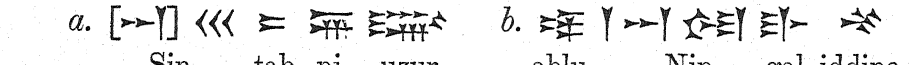


lim-mu Ṣa-gab — *u.* Assur - da - in - sar Dan - ai
eponym Sagab, — *Assurdainsar and Danai*

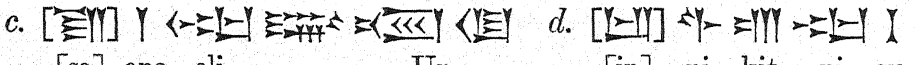


bel - ku — *v.* saptu lib e - kal esse e - tap-su
the belku — *in the new palace made.*

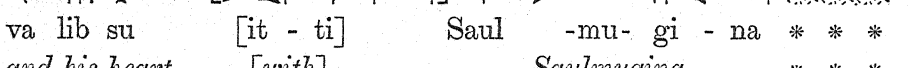
PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4696.



a. Sin - tab- ni - uṣur — *b.* ablu Nin - gal-iddina
Sintabniuzur — *son of Ningaliddina,*

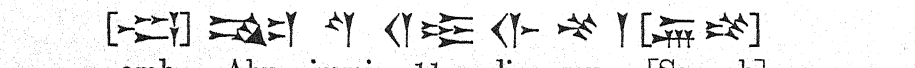


c. [sa] ana eli Ur — *d.* [ip] - pi - kit pi su
[*who*] *over Ur* — *was appointed, his face*



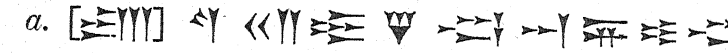
va lib su — *e.* [it - ti] Saul -mu- gi - na * * *
and his heart [*with*] *Saulmugina* * * *

REVERSE.



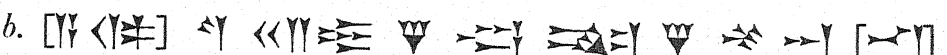
araḫ Abu immi 11 lim - mu [Ṣa - gab]
Month Ab, eleventh day, eponym [*Sagab*]

Passage at close of Omen Tablet K, 28.

a. 

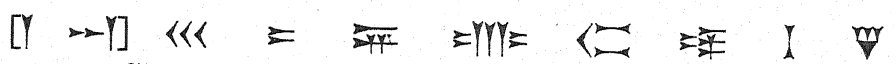
[Ta] immi 22 sa araḫ an - ni - i araḫ Duvazu

From the twenty-second day of this month, the month Tammuz,

b. 

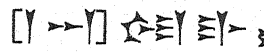
[a - di] immi 22 sa araḫ abu sa sanat an - [na]

[to] the twenty-second day of the month Ab of this year.

c. 

Sin - tab - ni - u - ẓur ablu su sa

Sintabniuzur, his son of

d. 

Nin - gal - iddina it - ti

Ningaliddina, with

e. 

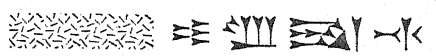
[Assur] - bani - pal

Assurbanipal



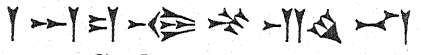
ṣar Assur binut qati ka

king of Assyria, the work of thy hands

f. 

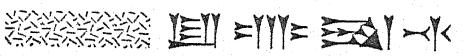
* * * * i - ru it - ti

* * * * *[made war(?)] with*



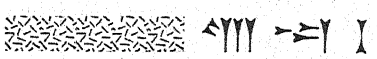
Saul - mu - gi - na

Saulmugina

g. 

* * * * lu - u it - ti

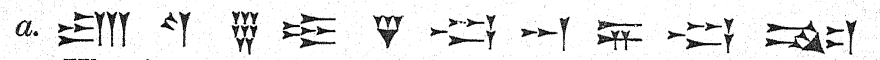
* * * * * * * *with*

h. 

* * * * lib - ba - su

* * * * *his heart.*

Passage at close of Omen Tablet K, 1360.

a. 

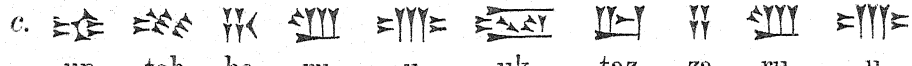
Ultu immi 8 sa araḫ an - ni araḫ Abu

From the eighth day of this month, the month Ab,

b. 

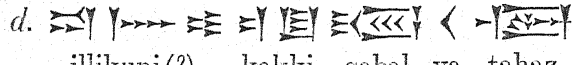
a- di immi 7 sa araḥ Ululu ẓabi Elami

to the seventh day of the month Elul. The men of Elam

c. 

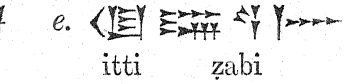
up - taḥ - ḥa - ru - u uk - taẓ - ẓa - ru - u

gathered, set in order, and

d. 

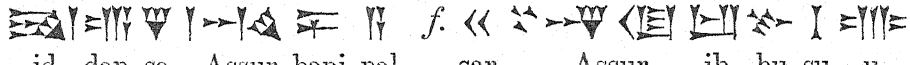
illikuni(?) kakki qabal va taḥaz

marched(?) fighting battle and war

e. 

itti ẓabi

with the men



id -dan sa Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur ib - bu-su- u

belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria, was made.



ul ḍabu

Not good.

g.

sar Dan - ai -ablu * * * * * *

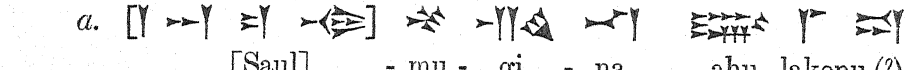
*From Danai son of * * * * * **

h. 

bil ku(?)araḥ Ululu immi 7 lim-mu Ṣa-gab

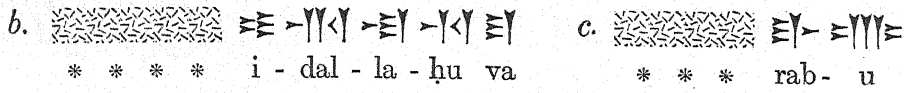
the bilku(?) month Elul seventh day, eponym Sagab.

Passage at close of Omen Tablet K, 4.

a. 

[Saul] - mu - gi - na aḥu lakenu(?)

[Saul]mugina the younger brother

b. 

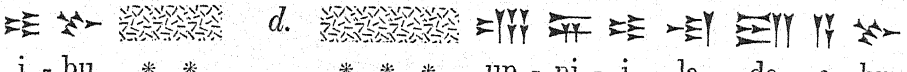
* * * * i - dal - la - ḥu va

* * * * *he embroiled and*

c.

* * * rab- u

* * * *great*



i - bu * * * * * un - ni - i la ḍa - a - bu

* * * * * * * * * *not good*

e. 

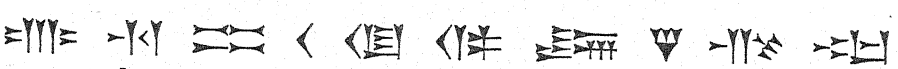
* * * * ki - na Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur

* * * * * * *Assurbanipal king of Assur,*

f. 

ṣar binu-ut qati ka sa ana sar ka ḍabu

the work of thy hands, who unto thee is good,

g. 

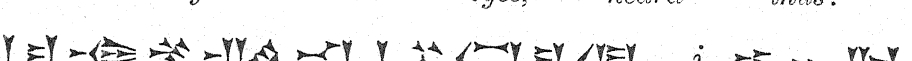
u - ḫu - qu - u ki - di - in sa zi(?) ka

who has established ordinances and on thy * * *

h. 

sit - ku - na eni su is - mu - u um - ma

has fixed his eyes, heard thus:

i. 

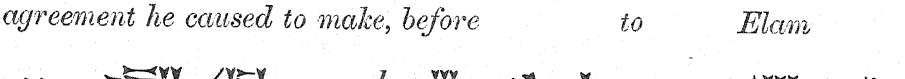
Saul - mu- gi - na ana Elam *j.* i - ḫal - lik

"Saulmugina to Elam broke away;



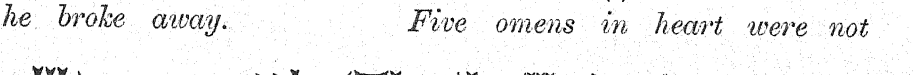
a - mat u - sa - si - tu pan - i ana Elam *k.*

an agreement he caused to make, before to Elam



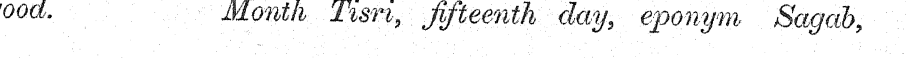
i - ḫal - li - ki *l.* 5 libiti (?) ina lib ul

he broke away. Five omens in heart were not



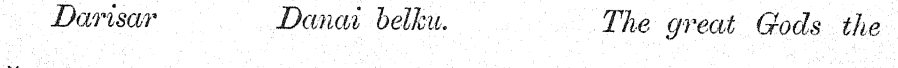
ḍabu *m.* Araḫ Tasritu immi 15 lim - mu Ṣa-gab

good. Month Tisri, fifteenth day, eponym Sagab,

n. 

Da - ri - ṣar Dan - ai bel - ku *o.* Ili rabati

Darisar Danai belku. The great Gods the

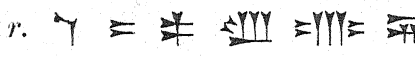


beli uzzi *p.* tam - mu - uṣ - ṣu uzzi

lords strength continue to him, their

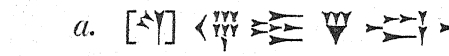
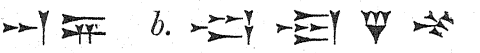


su - nu sa damiq a - na ṣar be - eli ya
strength for good to the king my lord

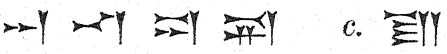


lis - tap - pa ru - u - ni
may they send.

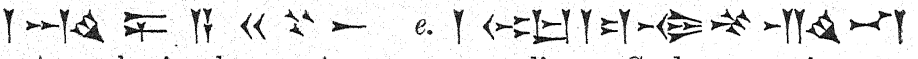
PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 3161.

a.  *b.* 

[immi] 17 sa araḥ an - ni araḥ Samna sa sanat
The seventeenth day of this month, the month Marchesvan of

 *c.* 

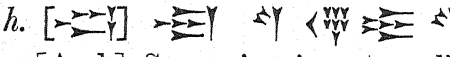
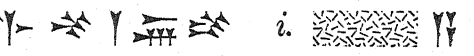
an - na uzzus (?) sa ẓabi id - dan sa
this year, it was that the men belonging to



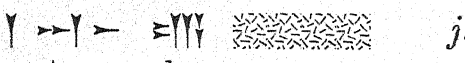
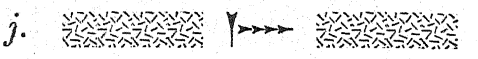
Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur ana eli Saul -mu- gi - na
Assurbanipal king of Assyria went over to Saulmugina;

f.  *g.* 

it - tal - ku ana qati su-nu ki(?) - bit(?) - tu dabtu
to their hands the will (?) was good.

h.  *i.* 

[Araḥ] Samna immi 17 lim - mu Ṣa-gab * * * a
*Month Marchesvan seventeenth day, eponym Sagab * * * a*

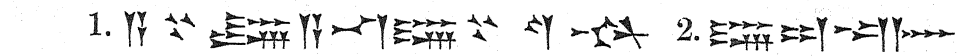
 *j.* 

Assur - dan * * * * * * i * * *
*Assurdan * * * * * * * * *

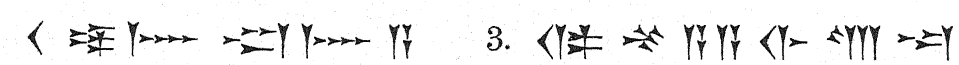
k. 

[ina lib Bit] - ridu - te e - tap - su
[In the midst] of Bitridute made.

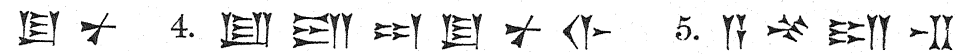
K, 312. Proclamation of the King to the People of the Sea Coast.



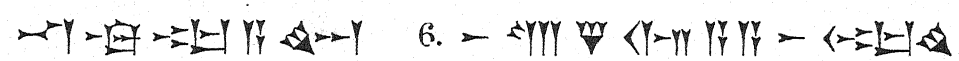
1. A-mat ṣar a-na nisi mat tam-ti 2. nisi ab-ba-i
The will of the king to the men of the coast, the sea,



va abli ardi a 3. salim-mu ai-si lib-ba
and the sons of my servants; my peace to your



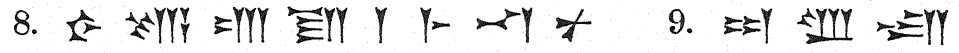
ku-nu 4. lu ḍa-ab ku-nu-si 5. a-mu-ra adi
hearts, may you be well. I am watching



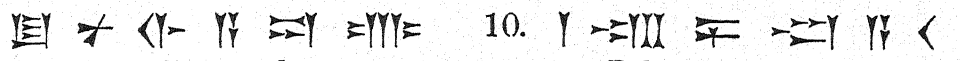
na-ak-ka-a-ha 6. ina lib sa eni ai ina eli
sharply, from out of my eyes, over



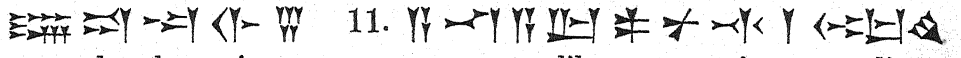
ku-nu 7. va la pa-an ḥi-iḍ sa Nabu-bel-zikri
you; and from the face of the sin of Nebobelzikri,



8. * * * * * sa ana mi-na-nu 9. ab-ru-ṣu
* * * * * *entirely* *I have separated*



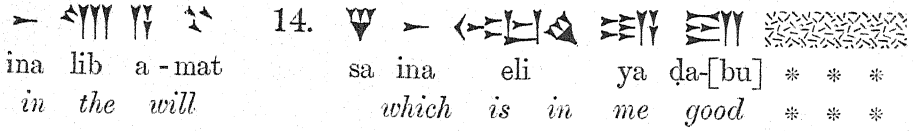
ku-nu-si a-du-u 10. Bel-ibni arda a va
you. Now, Belibni my servant,



du-ba-si ya 11. a-na a-lik pa-nu-ti ana eli
my deputy, to go before, to be over

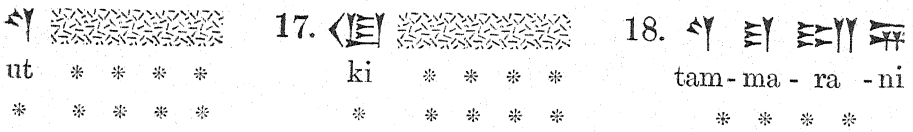


ku-nu 12. al-tap-ra at-tu-nu 13. ab-bat-tiv va
you I send to you. I command, and

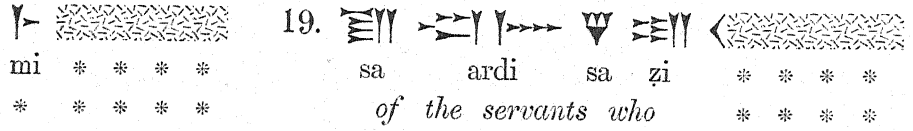


ina lib a-mat 14. sa ina eli ya ḍa-[bu] * * *
in the will *which is in me good* * * *

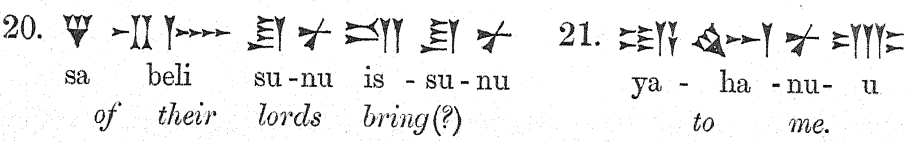
15. sa ina lib-bi sa * * * * * * 16. nisi
which in the heart * * * * * * *



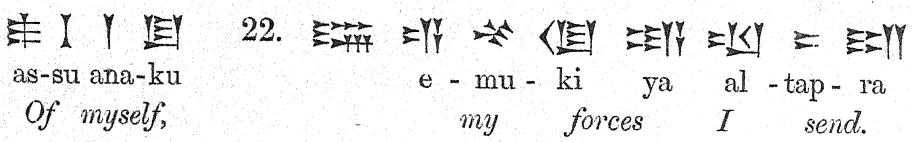
ut * * * * 17. ki * * * * 18. tam-ma-ra-ni
* * * * * * * * * * * *



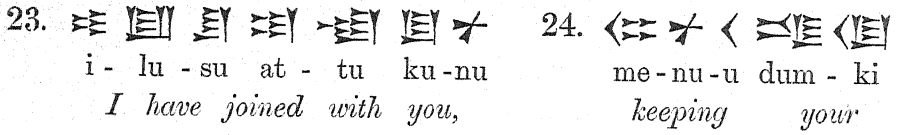
mi * * * * sa ardi sa ẓi * * * *
* * * * * *of the servants who* * * * *



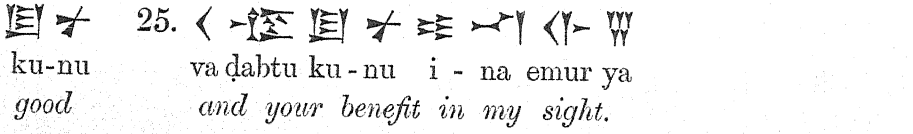
20. sa beli su-nu is-su-nu 21. ya-ha-nu-u
of their lords bring(?) *to me.*



as-su ana-ku 22. e-mu-ki ya al-tap-ra
Of myself, *my forces I send.*

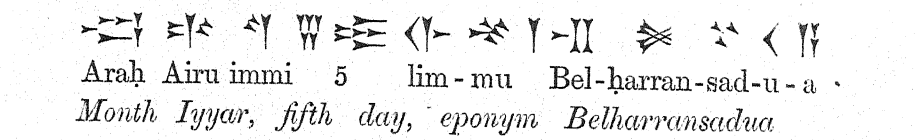


23. i-lu-su at-tu ku-nu 24. me-nu-u dum-ki
I have joined with you, *keeping your*



ku-nu 25. va ḍabtu ku-nu i-na emur ya
good *and your benefit in my sight.*

Date.

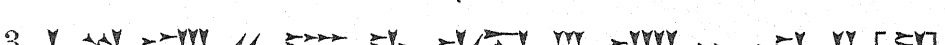


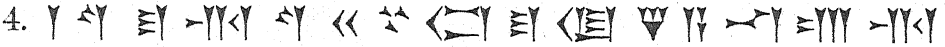
Araḥ Airu immi 5 lim-mu Bel-ḥarran-sad-u-a
Month Iyyar, fifth day, eponym Belharransadua

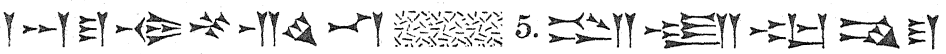
K, 4457.


1. [Um -man]- al - da - ṣu aḫu su sa Tam-ma- ri -tu
Ummanaldasu brother of Tammaritu


ṣar [Elam] 2. Ut - te - di nisi rab [mitpanu]
king of [Elam]. Uttedi commander of archers,

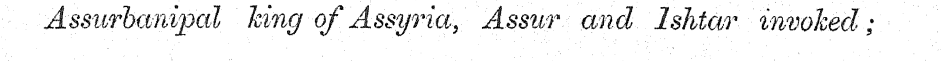

3. Te - um -man nis rab mitpanu sa bit - ḫal - la - a [su]
and Teumman commander of the archers of [his] chariot (?),

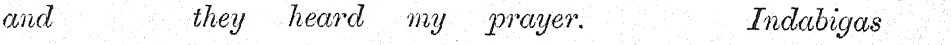

4. Tam - ma- ri - tu ṣar Elam sa a - na kit - ri
Tammaritu king of Elam, who to the aid of

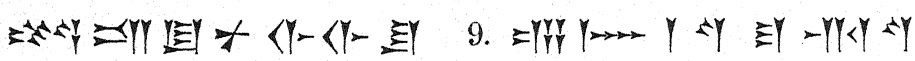

Saul -mu- gi - na * * * 5. il - li - ka - av -va
*Saulmugina * * * went, and*


a - na mit - ḫu - uz umman ya 6. a - na - ku
to fight my army. I


Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur Assur va Istar am - ḫu - ur
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Assur and Ishtar invoked;

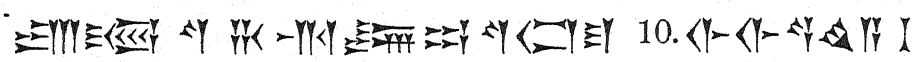

va 7. is - mu - u ṣu - up - pi ya In - da - bi-gas
and they heard my prayer. Indabigas


arad ṣu ẓir - us - su 8. ip - pal - kit va ina taḫaz
his servant, against him revolted, and in the battle



ṣin is-ku-nu abikta su 9. nisi Tam-ma-ri-tu

field accomplished his overthrow. *The men of Tammaritu*



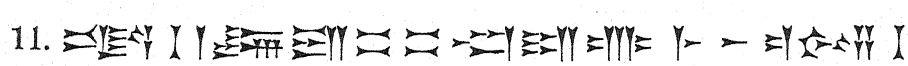
ultu qabal tam-ḥa-ri in-nab-tu-niv-va abikta umman su 10.

from the midst of the battle fled and of the defeat of his army



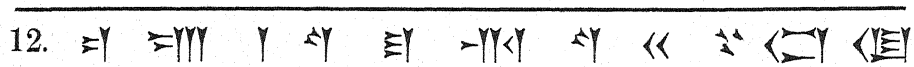
ig-bu su va in-nab-ta u-ru-uḫ-ḫi tam-ti

told him; and he fled by the way of the sea.



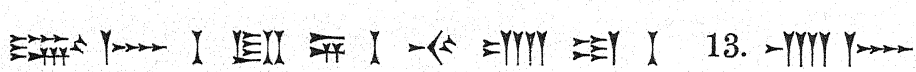
arku su In-da-bi-gas arad ṣu u-sib ina kuzzu su 11.

After him Indabigas his servant, sat on his throne.



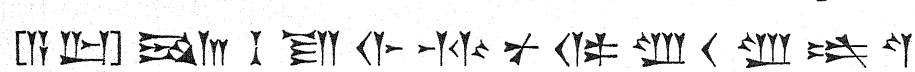
Elap Tam-ma-ri-tu ṣar Elam 12.

The ship of Tammaritu king of Elam,



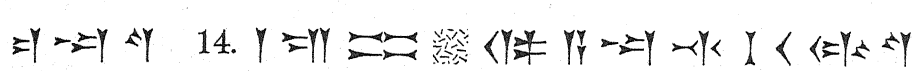
aḫi su qi-ni su ziri bit abi su rubi 13.

his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house, and the princes



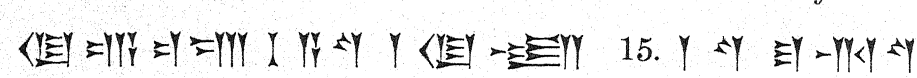
[a-lik] idi su sa si-ik-nu di-ru-u ru-taq-tu

[going] before him, which was sinking (?) * * * * *



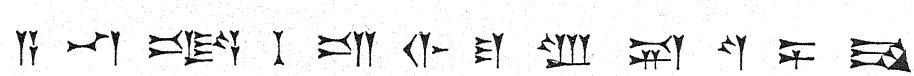
iṣ-ba-tu * * * * * ba-ti su-u ul-tu 14.

had taken. * * * * * *he from*



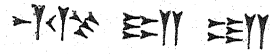
ki-rib elap su-a-tu ana ki-li Tam-ma-ri-tu 15.

out of that ship, to a boat, Tammaritu



a-na arku su is-si ma-ru-us-tu qaq-qar

on his back he carried sick. The


nam - ra - ṣi
ground

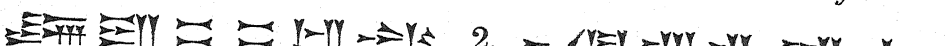
16. 
u - par - ri * * * us (?)
he placed him on,


u - se - rib su ki - rib qani * * * a - na bu - ri su - nu
he caused him to enter into the reeds. For their food

17. 
* * * * * * sa ut * * * zib * * *
* * * * * *which* * * * * * * *

Reverse.

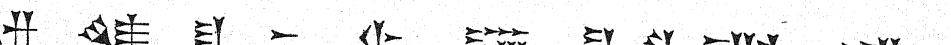
1. 
Tam - ma - ri - tu ṣar Elam sa pa - an
Tammaritu king of Elam, who before

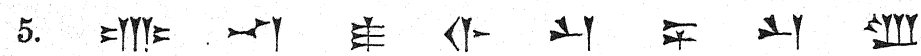

In - da - bi - gas ip - pal ina ki - rib mar - ra - ti
Indabigas fell; in the midst of the sea


i - ki - il pa - a e - mu - ru ma - ru - us - tu a - na - ku
sailed (?) and had seen sickness. I


Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur ri - ḥe - e - ti ṣaru - ti ya
Assurbanipal king of Assyria, my royal friendship


u - se - bil su ri - ḥe - e - ti sa - a - ti - na
sent to him. That friendship he


im - ḥar va ina maḥri ummati ya
received, and in presence of my general



5. u - na - as - si - qa qaq - qa - ru
kissed the ground.



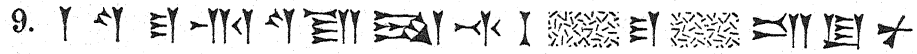
6. Ṣi - id - ru sa Um - man - i - gas la na - ẓir dabtu
Line [of battle] of Ummanigas, disregarder of the benefits



7. sa Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur sa ki - rib
of Assurbanipal king of Assyria; who in



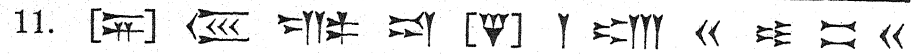
Elam 8. is - ku - nu su a - na ṣaru - ti
Elam had appointed him to the kingdom.



9. Tam - ma - ri - tu sa it - ti su * * ma * * is - ku - nu
Tammaritu who with him had fought (?) had accomplished



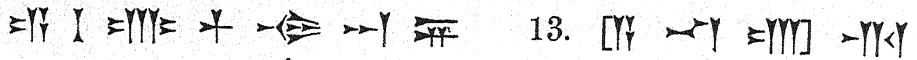
abikta su 10. u - par - ri - ru el - lat ṣu
his overthrow and dispersed his forces.



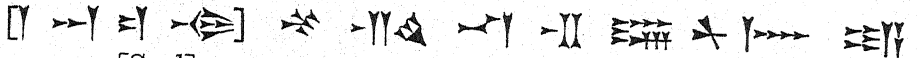
11. [Ni] - kis qaqadu [sa] Um - man - i - gas ṣar
Decapitated head [of] Ummanigas king of



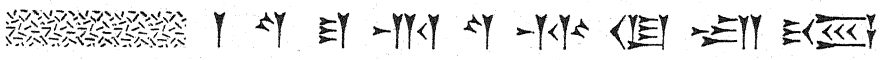
Elam 12. [sa] ya - a - ti * * * * * *
*Elam, who to me * * * * * **



e - su u - vas - sir an - ni 13. [a - na kit] - ri
* * *abandoned me,* *and [to the] aid of*



[Saul] - mu - gi - na bel nakiri ya
[Saul]mugina lord of my enemies,

14. 

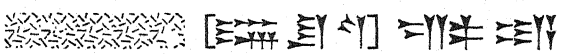
* * * * Tam-ma- ri - tu ik - ki - ṣu qabal

* * * * *Tammaritu had cut off in the midst of*



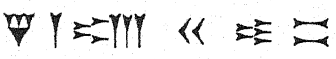
tam - ḥa - ri

battle.

15. 

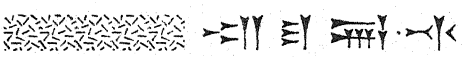
* * * * ummati ya

* * * * *my general*



sa Um - man - i - gas

who Ummanigas

16. 

* * * * Ma- dak - tu

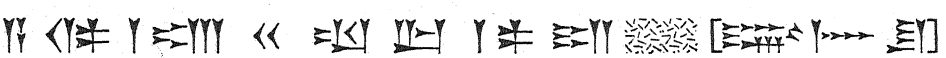
* * * * *Madaktu.*

K, 2825. PARTLY RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF DUPLICATE TABLETS.

a. 

Tam-ma- ri - tu ṣar Elam (su - a - tu)

Tammaritu king of Elam (that),



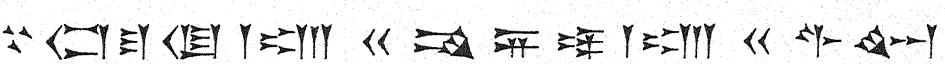
a - di Um -man- al - das Pa - ra * * [aḫi su]

*and Ummanaldas, Para * * [his brothers]*

b. 

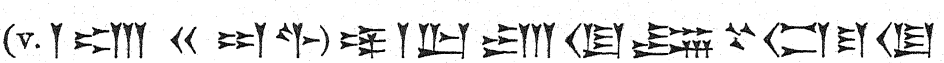
Um - man - al - da - ṣi ablu Te - um - man ṣar

Ummanaldasi son of Teumman king of



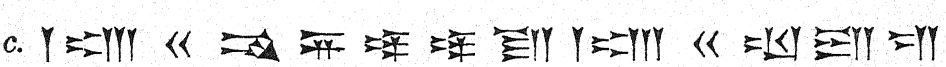
Elam Um -man- am - ni ablu Um -man- pi - ha

Elam, Ummanamni son of Ummanpiha



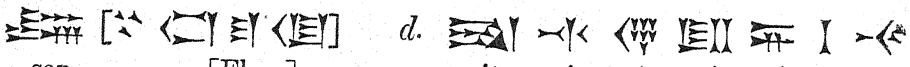
(v. Um -man-ap - pi) ablu Ur - ta - ki ṣar Elam

(*v. Ummanappi*) *son of Urtaki king of Elam,*

c. 

Um -man- am - ni ablu abli sa Um -man- al - da - ṣi

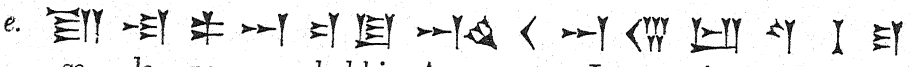
Ummanamni grandson of Ummanaldasi



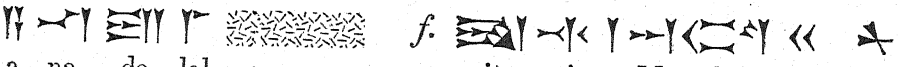
ṣar [Elam] *d.* it - ti 17 qi - ni su ziri
king of [Elam], *with seventeen of his kin, the seed of*



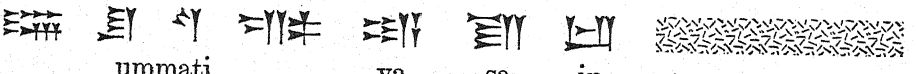
bit abi su va 86 rubi a - li - kut idi su
his father's house, and eighty-six princes going before him;



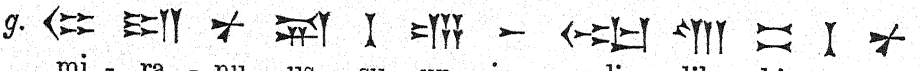
e. sa la pa - an kakki Assur va Istar ip - par - su va
who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled, and



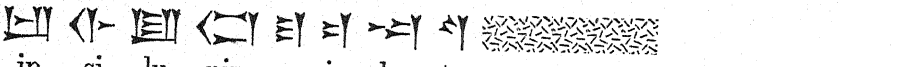
a - na da - lal * * * *f.* it - ti Maruduk sar - uẓur
to exalt * * * *with* *Merodachsaruzur*



ummati ya sa ip * * * * * *
my general, who * * * * * *

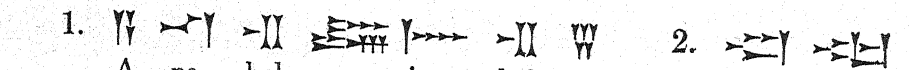


g. mi - ra - nu - us - su - un ina eli lib - bi su - nu
their bitterness within their hearts

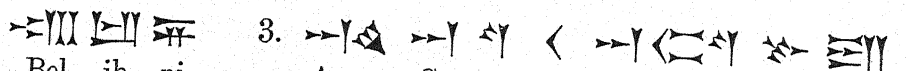


ip - si - lu - niv - va iẓ - ba - tu * * * *
raged, and they took * * * *

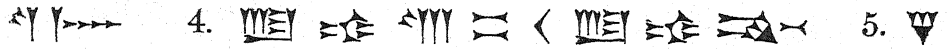
K, 599. Dispatch from an Officer to the King.



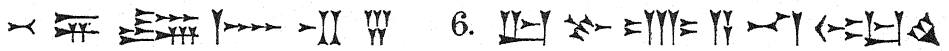
1. A - na - bel ṣarri bel ya 2. arad ka
To the lord of kings my lord, *thy servant*



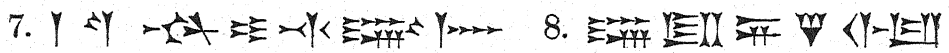
Bel - ib - ni 3. Assur Samas va Maruduk araku
Belibni; *Assur, Shamas and Merodach, length of*



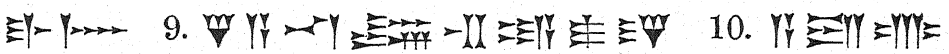
immi 4. ḍu - ub lib - bi va ḍu - ub ṣiri 5. sa
days, *sound heart, and sound body,* *to the*



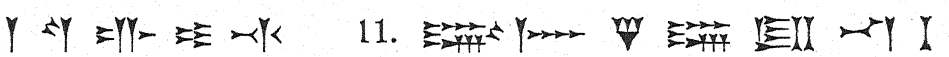
be - eli ṣarri bel ya 6. liq - bu - u a - na eli
lord of kings my lord *grant.* *Concerning*



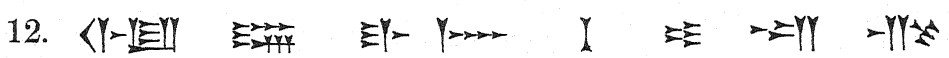
Tam - ti - i - ti aḥi 8. nis qi - ni sa va
Tamti-iti, *the brothers,* *kinsmen,* *and*



rabati 9. sa a - na ṣar bel ya as - pur 10. a - du - u
great men, *whom to the king my lord I send,* *thus:*



Tam - mar - i - ti 11. aḥi sa nisi qi - na su
"Tammaritu, *the brothers, his kinsmen and*



va nisi rabati su i - zu - zi
his *great* *men,* *together*

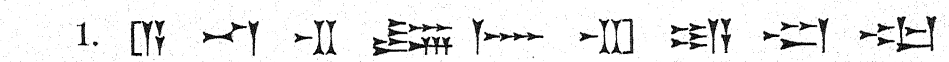


a - na pa - an ṣar beli ya 14. al - tap - ra - as - su - nu
to the presence of the king *my lord I send them*

15. 

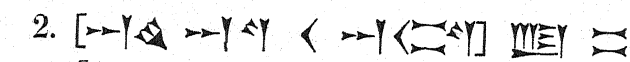
* * * * *
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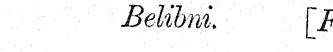
Extract from a Dispatch mentioning the Death of Indabigas King of Elam. K, 13.

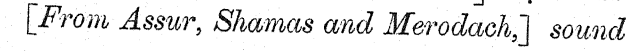
1. 

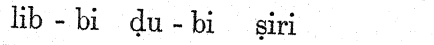
[A - na bel ṣarri beli] ya arad ka
[To the lord of kings] my [lord,] thy servant

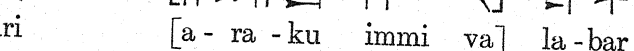

Bel - ib - ni
Belibni.

2. 
[Assur Samas va Maruduk] ḍu - bi
[From Assur, Shamas and Merodach,] sound

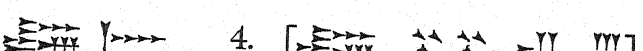

lib - bi ḍu - bi ṣiri
heart and sound body;

3. 
[a - ra - ku immi va] la - bar
[length of days, and] long


pal - e ana bel ṣarri
life; to the lord of kings

4. 
[ṣar matati bel ya]
[king of the earth my lord.]


ḍe - e - mu sa Elam
The news from Elam,

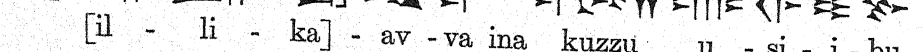
5. 
[Um - ma - ḫal] - da - a - su
Ummanaldas;


ṣar maḫ - ru - u sa iḫ - li - qa
the former king has destroyed,

6. 
[il - li - ka] - av - va ina kuzzu u - si - i - bu
he has gone and on the throne has sat.

7. 
[ip - tal] - la - ḫu Ma - dak - ti un - dis - sar
They feared (?) Madaktu he has left,

8. 
ummu su alat ṣu mari su va nis qi - na - as - su
his mother, his wife, his children and his kinsmen


gab - bi ki - i ik - mi - ṣu U - la - ai a - na
all; then he subdued. The Ulai in its

9. 
su - pal sa a - ru i - te - bir a - na
depth a flood, he crossed, to



Ta - la - aḥ it - tal - ka niru
Talah he went. The chief

11. 

Um-man-si-bar Un-da-du zi - il - li - ru
Ummansibar, Undadu the zilliru,

12. 

va bel ummani (?) su ma - la ba - as - su - u
and the lords of his forces all there were;

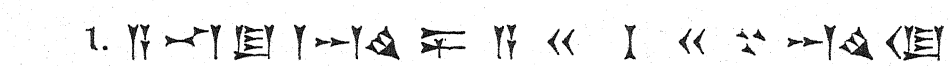
13. 

it - tal - ku pa - ni su - nu a - na alu su
went before them, to his city



Ḥa - ri - ṣu - un - ṣi
Harisundasi.

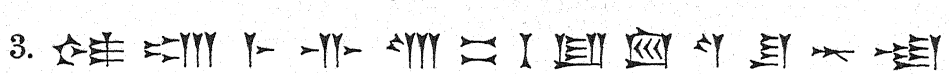
EPIGRAPH OVER KING IN CHARIOT RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.
Line 7 from Duplicate on Tablet Fragment.

1. 

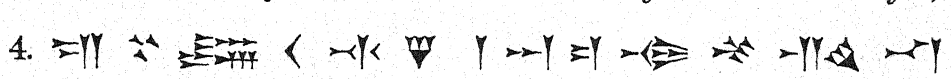
A- na - ku Assur-bani-pal ṣar kissat ṣar Assur
I am Assurbanipal king of nations king of Assyria,

2. 

sa ina kibit Ili rabati ik - su - du
who by the will of the great Gods has taken the

3. 

ṣu - um - mi - rat lib - bi su lu - bul - tu su - qut - tu
desire of his heart; garments beautiful,

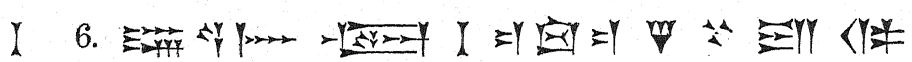
4. 

ṣi - mat ṣar - u - ti sa Saul - mu - gi - na
the royal robes of Saulmugina

5. 

aḫu la- kenu sal-ṣik- ri -te su ummati

my younger brother, his concubines, his generals,



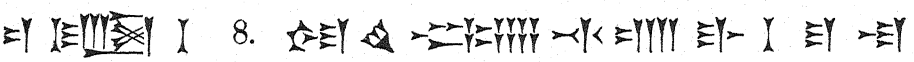
su ṣabi taḫaz su ruqubi sa sad- da - di

his men of war, the powerful war chariots,



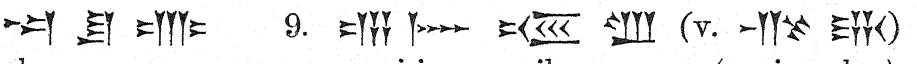
ru - du belu - ti su susi ṣi - bi - ti

his lordly carriages, horses trained to the



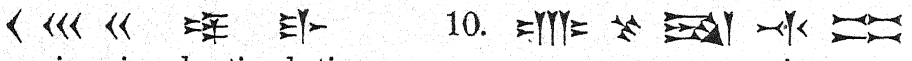
niri su nin ḥi- suḫ - ti e -kal su ma - la

yoke, the desirable women of his palace all there



ba - su - u nisi zik - ru (v. zi - kar)

were; people male



va sin - nis zaḫruti rabati u - se - et - ti - qu

and female, small and great, I caused to come

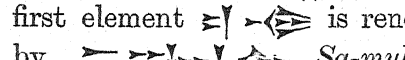
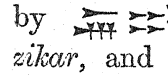
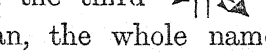
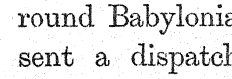
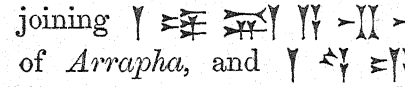
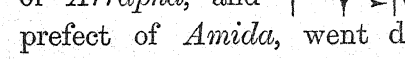


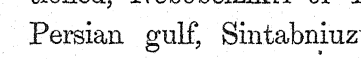
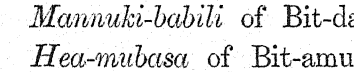
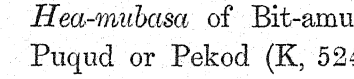
ina maḫ - ri (v. maḫri) ya

into my presence.

It is necessary in this division of the reign to give a more detailed account of the events, many of the inscriptions relating to it being too long to translate here; but for every fact of importance a reference is given to the inscription from which the statement is drawn (in cases where the inscription is not translated), that students may be able to compare the original documents.

After he had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu in Elam, Assurbanipal sent an envoy to Elam (K, 2644) to demand the return of the image of Nana, which the Elamites had carried off to Shushan; and a little later, Saulmugina, brother of Assurbanipal,

instigated all the tributary states to revolt against Assurbanipal. Saulmugina is the Saosduchinus of Ptolemy, his name is written  and . The first element is rendered in Cun. Ins. Vol. II, p. 45, line 49, by  *Sa-mul-lu*, the second element  is *sum* or *zikar*, and the third  or *gina* in Akkad, is ukin in Assyrian, the whole name was probably *Samul-zikar-ukin*, or *Samul-sum-ukin* in Assyrian. Probably, by the will of Esarhaddon, Saulmugina was made king of Babylon at his death. K, 3050, and the Cylinder of Assurbanipal in the Louvre exhibit Saulmugina as on intimate terms with Assurbanipal, and this state of affairs lasted for about seventeen years. During the eponymy of Assurduruzur, Saulmugina planned a revolt against his brother, which Assurbanipal represents as very ungrateful. The inscriptions seem to show that Assurbanipal only allowed his brother a nominal sovereignty round Babylon, and Saulmugina desiring to be independent, sent messengers to the various subject rulers to persuade them to join him in throwing off the Assyrian yoke. The most important tributary was Ummanigas of Elam, and to insure his aid, Saulmugina opened the treasuries of the temple of Bel at Babylon, the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, and the temple of Nergal at Kutha, and sent their treasures as a present to the Elamite monarch (K, 2631). Ummanigas received the bribe, and sent his troops to Babylonia. Other messengers were sent by Saulmugina to the various rulers round Babylonia, and  *Kudur* governor of Uruk (Warka) sent a dispatch to Assurbanipal (K, 5457), telling him that he had heard from Sintabniuzur, governor of Ur, of the arrival of the messenger of Saulmugina at that city, and that part of the people had revolted. Kudur then took 500 men from Uruk, and joining  *Palia*, prefect of *Arrapha*, and  *Zabea*, prefect of *Amida*, went down to Ur; but he could not stop the revolt, and Sintabniuzur himself went over to Saulmugina. Meanwhile the Babylonian king sent an embassy to Assyria to assure Assurbanipal of his devotion; on the return of this embassy, the general revolt broke out, and is said to have included Ummanigas of Elam, and his feudatory chiefs, Saulmugina of Babylon, the Guti

by whom the Arabians are probably intended, Martu or Hatti which is Syria, and Miluhha, which must here mean Egypt, the country with which the name is constantly connected.* Among the minor princes and governors involved, the following are mentioned, Nebobelzikri or Nebobelsumi, ruler of the Chaldees on the Persian gulf, Sintabniuzur of Ur,  *Mannuki-babili* of Bit-dakkuri, and  *Hea-mubasa* of Bit-amukkan (K, 4515),  *Nadan* of Puqud or Pekod (K, 524).

After the departure of the Elamite forces to Babylonia, Tammaritu the son† of Ummanigas, assisted by his uncle Tammaritu, who was sub-king of Hidalu, revolted against his father, and to gain over the war party which was hostile to Assyria, he declared that he had not killed Teumman, and accused Ummanigas of being the only one who had submitted to Assurbanipal. In the battle which followed, Tammaritu gained the victory, and cut off his father's head. Saulmugina subsidised Tammaritu, and he, like his father, marched his troops into Babylonia against Assurbanipal. While there, Indabigas raised a revolt and drove him from the throne, and Tammaritu and his adherents embarked on the Persian gulf, and after considerable suffering landed and took refuge in the marshy district of the lower Euphrates, here having been assured of a good reception, they surrendered to Merodachsaruzur, a general serving under Belibni the governor of Assurbanipal (K, 1610, and K, 2825), and were sent by Belibni to Assyria.

Assurbanipal appears at first to have been overwhelmed by the magnitude of his misfortune, but the vigour of some of the Assyrian generals prevented the revolt becoming universal; Paliya, governor of Arbaha or Arrapha, on the northern border of Elam, held that side, and we are told, K, 159, that from fear of capture, that part

* The contempt of chronology in the Assyrian records is well shown by the fact that in Cylinder A, the account of the revolt of Psammitichus is given under the third expedition, while the general account of the rebellion of Saulmugina is given under the sixth expedition, the affair of Nebobelzikri under the eighth expedition, and the Arabian and Syrian events in connexion are given under the ninth expedition.

† It is only while writing this Division that I have found that the Tammaritu who revolted against Ummanigas, was his son, and not his brother; he is sometimes called "Tammaritu the younger," and "Tammaritu the later," to distinguish him from his uncle, who bore the same name.

of Elam did not join the revolt, and Kudur, governor of Uruk, held that important city for Assurbanipal. In the eponymy of Sagab, reinforcements were sent into Babylonia, and next year, in the eponymy of Bilharransadua, Belibni was appointed governor in south Babylonia.*

The Assyrian forces having defeated the confederate army of Babylonians, Elamites, and Arabians, shut them up in the four cities of Babylon,† Borsippa, Kutha, and Sipara; here they were besieged, until in the extremity of famine, the people eat their own children. After a vain attempt at a sortie, Babylon fell, and Saulmugina was burned.‡ After the capture of Babylon, the country was annexed to Assyria, and an Assyrian general named Samasdainani was made governor of Babylon and the surrounding district. Nebobelzikri,‖ the Chaldean who had joined the revolt, had taken captive the Assyrian garrison which guarded his country, and when the revolt failed, he made his escape into Elam, carrying with him the Assyrians as prisoners. Indabigas, king of Elam, sent to Assurbanipal, desiring to make peace, but the Assyrian monarch sent back word demanding the surrender of Nebobelzikri and the Assyrians who were in Elam, and threatened to invade Elam if they were refused. Assurbanipal afterwards dispatched an envoy to Elam on this errand, and on reaching the frontier the Assyrian messenger heard that Indabigas had been killed, and succeeded by Ummanaldas; a long diplomatic correspondence ensued between Assurbanipal and Ummanaldas respecting Nebobelzikri, who ultimately committed suicide in company with his armour bearer (see

* The name of Belibni consists of two parts, the first the deity Bel is written ,  and (this is the only proper name in which I have found these forms interchange); the second ipni "he made," is written , and .

† This is the first time in history that we know Babylon to have been besieged. At least six times previously the Assyrians had taken it without siege, and it is probable that the great extent of the city had prevented its being enclosed by a wall until the time of Esarhaddon, who fortified it about thirty years before Saulmugina's revolt.

‡ We have no details of the death of Saulmugina, so that it is uncertain under what circumstances he was burned, it is possible that he set fire to his palace on the taking of Babylon; self-destruction, under such circumstances, was common in ancient times.

‖ Nebobelzikri is called in some copies the son, and in others the grandson of Merodach Baladan, the latter is the more correct relationship. He was probably the son of Nahid-maruduk, a younger son of Merodach Baladan, who was king of Chaldee in the time of Esarhaddon.

Part XI). Several of the facts connected with this period are indicated on omen tablets, many of these tablets embodying the judgment of the astrologers were written at the order of Assurbanipal, that he might know if the omens were favourable for the prosecution of the war against Saulmugina and his allies. At the close of these omen tablets, the circumstances in the revolt which called for the inquiries are specified, together with the dates and the statements whether the omens were favourable or not. There are many other fragments beside those translated here, and the dates extend from the eponymy of Assurduruzur to that of Bilharransadua, a period of about two years.

The following are some of the tablets referring to this part of the history, which are not translated here, K, 4796; K, 1210; K, 974; K, 824; K, 1580; K, 1095; K, 1541; K, 4275; K, 1196; K, 1030; K, 5456; K, 1249; K, 5457; K, 1610; K, 524; No. 67, 4—2, 1; K, 95; K, 84.

PART X.

The First War with Ummanaldas, King of Elam.

TEXTS.

There are two good texts of this war, Cylinder A, col. v, lines 44 to 117, and an Extract from K, 2656. Beside these there is the imperfect text on K, 2833, and K, 3085, not translated here.

Cylinder A, Column V, Lines 44 to 117.

44. 

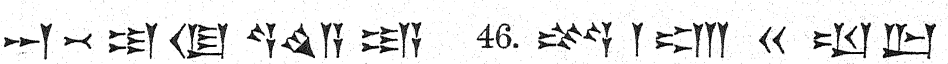
I - na ṣibe- e gar - ri ya ina araḫ Sivanu araḫ

In my seventh expedition, in the month Sivan the month of



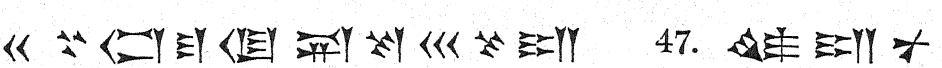
Sin bel uzzi ablu ris - tu va a - sa - ri - du sa

Sin lord of might, eldest son and first of



Bel ad - ki umman ya ṣir Um - man - al - das

Bel: I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas



ṣar Elam us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu

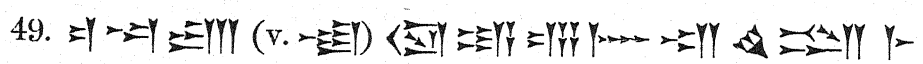
king of Elam I directed the march.

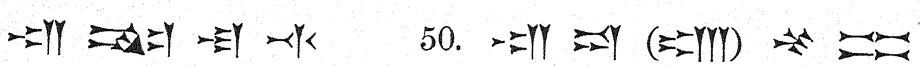


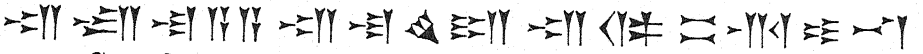
u - bil it - ti ya Tam-ma- ri - tu ṣar Elam

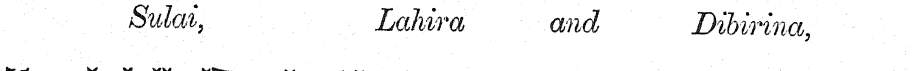
I brought with me Tammaritu king of Elam,

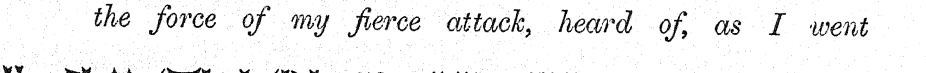
48. 
sa la pa-an In-da-bi-gas ardu su in-nab-tu va
who from the face of Indabigas his servant had fled, and

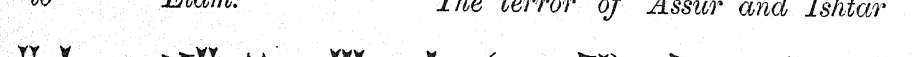
49. 
iẓ-ba-ta (v. tu) niri ya nisi Ḥi-il-mi
taken my yoke. The people of Hilmi,

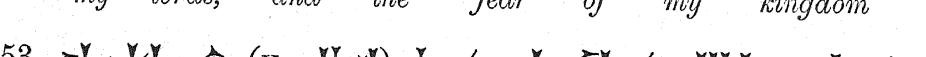

Bil-la-ti 50. Du-(um)-mu-qu
Billati, *Dummuqu,*


Ṣu-la-ai La-ḥi-ra Di-bi-ri-i-na
Sulai, *Lahira* *and* *Dibirina,*

51. 
ti-ib taḥaz ya dan-ni is-mu-u sa al-la-ku
the force of my fierce attack, heard of, as I went

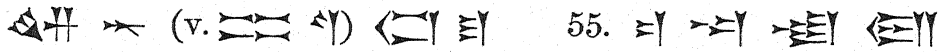

a-na Elam 52. nam-ri-ri Assur va Istar
to Elam. *The terror of Assur and Ishtar*


beli ya pu-luḥ-ti (v. tu) ṣaru-ti ya
my lords, and the fear of my kingdom

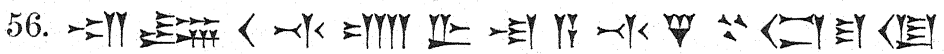
53. 
iṣ-ḥu-up (v. ḥup) su-nu-ti su-nu nisi su-nu
overwhelmed them. *They, their people,*

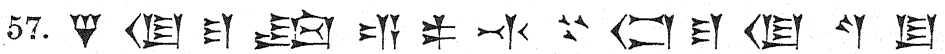

alpi su-nu ẓe-e-ni (v. ẓeni) su-nu
their oxen and their sheep,

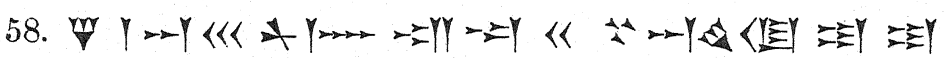
54. 
a-na e-pis ardu-ti ya a-na Assur
to do my service to Assyria

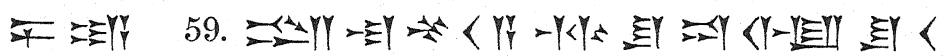

im - qut - (v. qu - tu) - niv - va 55. iẓ - ba - tu niru
they struck, and took the yoke of

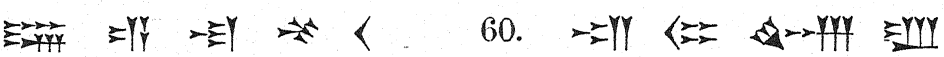

ṣaru - ti ya Bit - im - bi - i maḥ - ru - u
my kingdom. Bitimbi the former

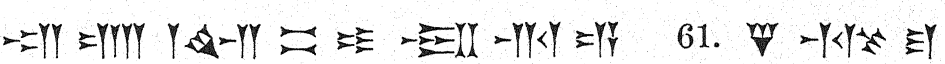

56. alu ṣar - u - ti bit duk - la - a - ti sa Elam
royal city, the fortress of Elam;

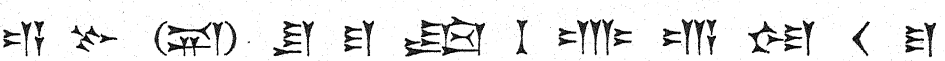

57. sa ki - ma dur - e pa - ti Elam par - ku
which like a wall the boundary of Elam divided,

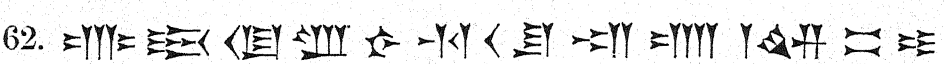

58. sa Sin - aḥi ir - ba ṣar Assur abu abi
which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather

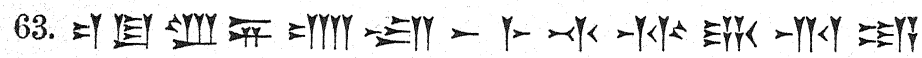

bani ya 59. il - la - mu - u - a ik - su - du va su - u
my begetter, my predecessor, had captured: and he the


E - la - mu - u 60. alu me - eḥ - rit
Elamite, a city in front of the


Bit - im - bi - i maḥ - re - e 61. sa - nam - ma
former Bitimbi, another


e - bu - (us) - su va dur su u - dan - nin - u va
had built, and its wall he had strengthened, and


62. u - zak - ki - ru ṣal - ḥu - u su Bit - im - bi - i
had raised its outer wall Bitimbi



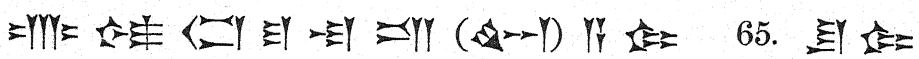
iz-ku-ru ni-bit ṣu ina mi-ti-iq gar-ri ya

he had proclaimed its name: in the course of my expedition



ak-su-ud nisi a-sib lib-bi su sa la

I took. The people dwelling in it, who did not



u-ṣu-niv-va la is-(ha)-a-luv su-lum

come out, and did not pray for alliance with



ṣaru-ti ya a-nir qaqadi su-nu ak-kiṣ

my kingdom, I felled. Their heads I cut off,



ṣapti su-nu ap-ru-ha a-na ta-mar-ti

their lips I tore out, and for the inspection of the



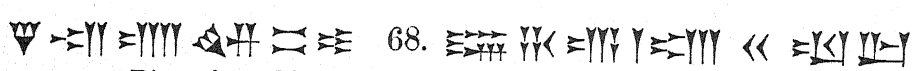
nisi mati ya al-qa-a a-na Assur

people of my country, I brought to Assyria.



Im-ba-ap-pi qe-e-pu v. nis rab mitpanu)

Imbaappi governor (v. *commander of the archers*)



sa Bit-im-bi-i ḥa-tan Um-man-al-das

of Bitimbi, the relative of Ummanaldas



(v. da-ṣi) ṣar Elam bal-ḍu-uṣ-ṣu

king of Elam; alive



ul-tu ki-rib alu su-a-tu u-se-ṣa-av-va

from the midst of that city I brought out and



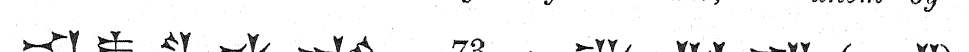
qati va sepi bi - ri -tu parzil ad - di su va 71. u - ra - a
hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed him, and sent



a - na Assur sal e - kal va abli su
to Assyria. The women of the palace, and sons



72. sa Te - um - man ṣar Elam sa ina
of Teumman king of Elam; whom by



na - as - par - ti Assur 73. ina gar - ri ya (v. e)
the command of Assur, in my former



maḫ - re - e ak - ki - ṣu qaqad ṣu 74. it - ti
expedition I had cut off his head; with the



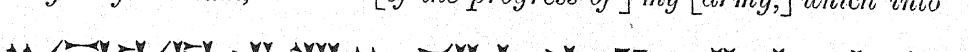
ṣi - it - ti nisi a - si - bu - ti Bit - im - bi - i
rest of the people dwelling in Bitimbi,



75. u - se - ṣa - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu Um - man - al - das
I brought out and as spoil I counted. Ummanaldas



ṣar Elam 76. [a - lak umman] ya sa ki - rib
king of Elam, [of the progress of] my [army,] which into



Elam e - ru - bu is - mi va 77. Ma - dak - tu
Elam entered; heard, and Madaktu



alu ṣaru - ti su u - vas - sir va in - na - bit va
his royal city he abandoned, and fled and



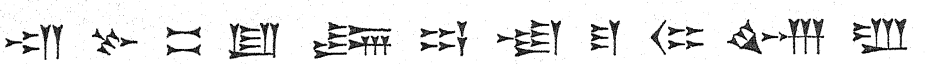
sada su e - li 78. Um (v. Am) - ba - gu - u - a sa

his mountains ascended. *Um (v. Am)-bagua who*



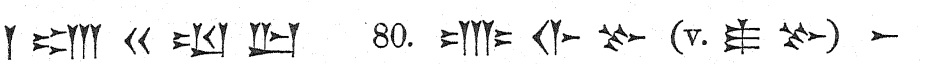
ul - tu Elam ultu ṣi - ḫu - u 79. a - na

from Elam, from a revolt, to



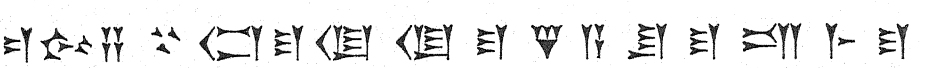
Bu - bi - lu in - nab - tu va me - eḫ - rit

Bubilu had fled, and against



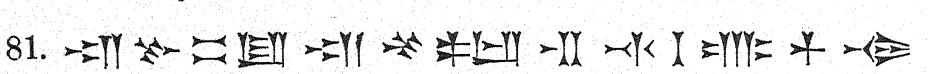
Um-man- al - das 80. u - si - bu (v. as - bu) ina

Ummanaldas had sat on the



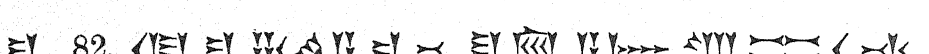
kuzzu Elam ki - ma sa - a - su va is - mi va

throne of Elam: like him also heard, and



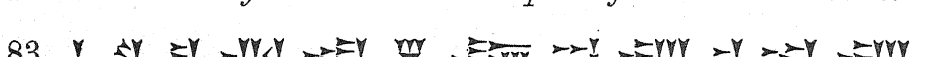
81. Bu - bi - lu alu mu - sab bilu - ti su u - vas - sir

Bubilu the city the seat of his dominion he abandoned,



va 82. ki - ma nuni iẓ - bat su - pul me ru - qu - u - ti

and like the fishes took to the depths of the remote waters.



83. Tam - ma - ri - tu sa in - nab - ta iẓ - ba - ta

Tammaritu who fled and took



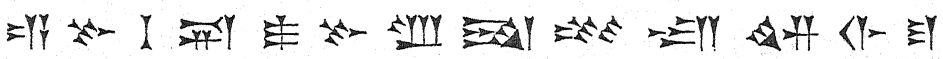
niri ya 84. ki - rib Su - sa - an u - se - rib

my yoke, into Shushan I caused to enter,



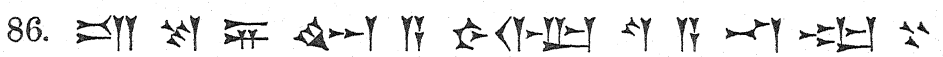
as - kun su a - na ṣaru - ti 85. damqati

I appointed him to the kingdom. The good



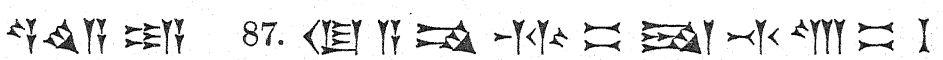
e - pu -su- us as - pu - ru it - taḥ - ṣu im - si va

I had done to him and sent to his aid, he rejected and



86. is - te - ni - ha - a limut - tu a - na ka - sad

devised evil to capture



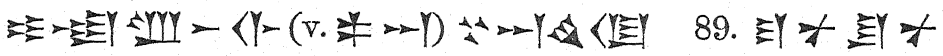
umman ya 87. ki - a - am ig - bi it - ti lib - bi su

my army. Even he said in his heart



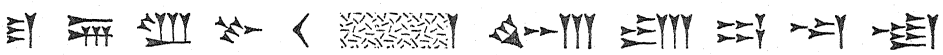
um -ma nisi Elam 88. a - na salat - e

thus: "The people of Elam for a spoil



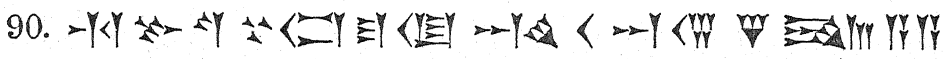
i - tu - ru ina pan (v. pa - an) Assur 89. ma-nu su-nu

*have turned, in the face of Assyria. Their * * **



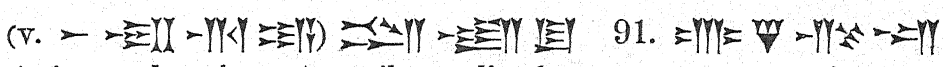
va ir - ru - bu - u * * * iḥ - ta - nab - ba - tu

has been entered(?) and they have carried away



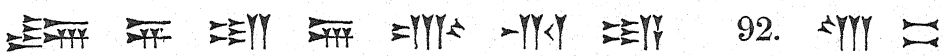
90. ḥu - bu -tu Elam Assur va Istar sa ida ai

the plunder of Elam." Assur and Ishtar who before me



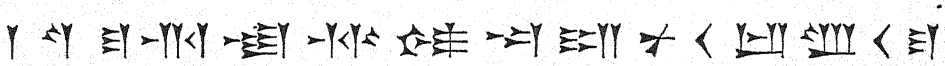
(v. ina maḥ - ri ya) il - li - ku 91. u -sa- zi - zu

(v. *in my presence*) *march,* *and exalt*



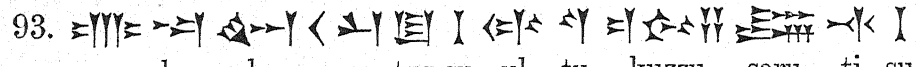
in - ni ẓi - ir ga - ri ya 92. lib - bi

me over my enemies; the heart of



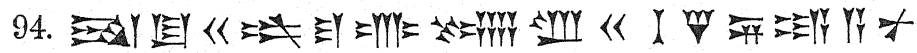
Tam-ma- ri - tu iq - ẓu ba - ra - nu - u ip - ru - u va

Tammaritu hard and perverse they broke, and

93. 

u - ba - hu - u qa-tus-su ul - tu kuzzu ṣaru - ti su

took hold of his hand, from the throne of his kingdom

94. 

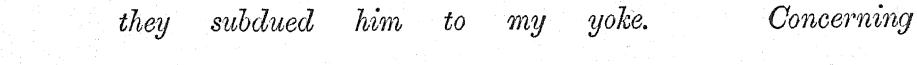
id -ku-nis-suv -va u - tir - ru -nis-su sa - ni - ya - a -nu

they hurled him, and overwhelmed him, a second time

95. 

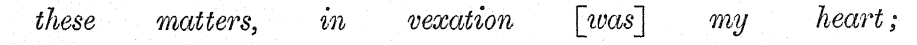
u - sak - ni - su - us a - na niri ya 96. su-par

they subdued him to my yoke. Concerning



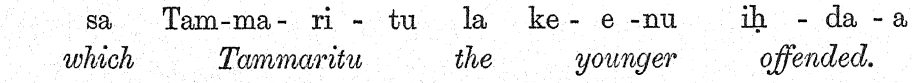
a-ma- a- ti an - na - a - ti ina ṣe - ri - iḫ - ti lib ya

these matters, in vexation [was] my heart;

97. 

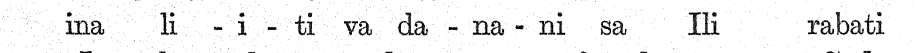
sa Tam-ma - ri - tu la ke - e -nu iḫ - da - a

which Tammaritu the younger offended.

98. 

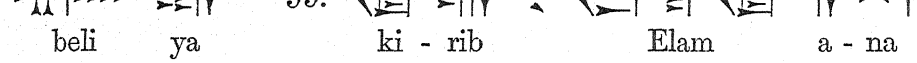
ina li - i - ti va da - na - ni sa Ili rabati

In the glory and power of the great Gods



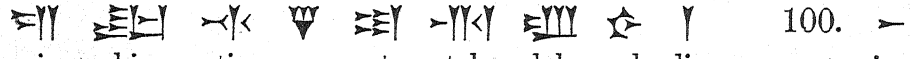
beli ya 99. ki - rib Elam a - na

my lords, within Elam, through its



ṣi - ḫir - ti sa at - tal - lak sal - dis 100. ina

extent I marched victoriously. On



ta - ai - ar - ti ya sa sul - lu - me - e

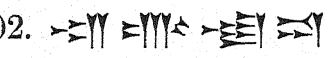
my return, peace and

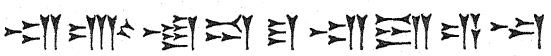


su -pa - li - ti 101. pa - an niri (v. ni - ri) ya

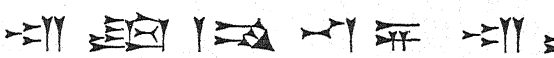
submission to my yoke,


u - tir - ra a - na Assur
I restored to Assyria.

102. 
Ga - tu - du
Gatudu,

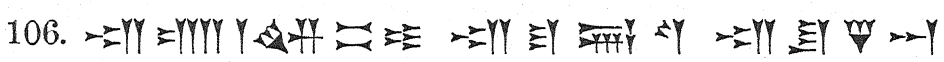

Ga - tu - du - ma Da - e - ba
Gatuduma, Daeba,

103. 
Na - di - ha
Nadiha,


Dur - am - na - ni Dur - am - na - ni - ma
Duramnani, Duramnanima,

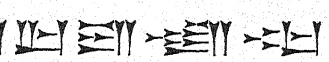
104. 
Ḫa - ma - nu Ta - ra - qu Ḫa - ai - u - ṣi
Hamanu, Taraqu, Haiusi,

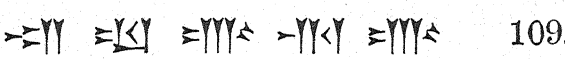
105. 
Bit - tag - gil - bit - ṣu Bit - ar - ra - bi
Bittaggilbitsu, Bitarrabi,

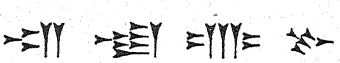
106. 
Bit - im - bi - i Ma - dak - tu Su - sa - an
Bitimbi, Madaktu, Shushan,

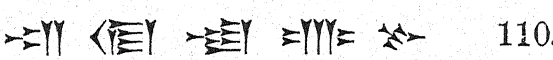
107. 
Bu - be - e Te - maruduk - ṣar - an - ni
Bube, Temaruduksaranni,

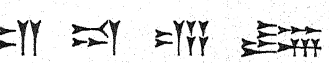
(v. 
(v. Te - maruduk - ṣar - a - ni)

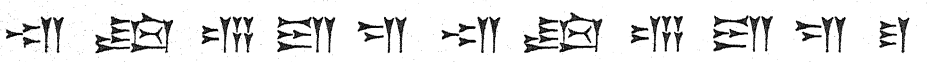
108. 
Ur - da - li - ka
Urdalika,


Al - ga - ri - ga
Algariga,

109. 
Tu - u - bu
Tubu,

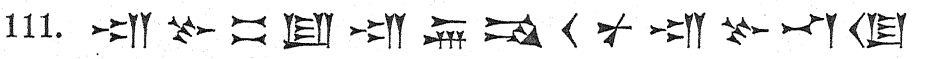

Tul - tu - u - bu
Tultubu,

110. 
Du - un - ṣar
Dunsar,



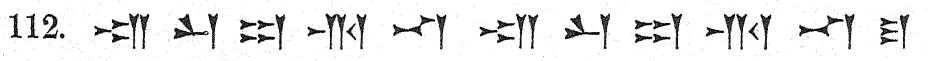
Dur - un - da - ṣi Dur - un - da - ṣi - ma

Durundasi, *Durundasima,*

111. 

Bu - bi - lu Ṣa - am - u - nu Bu - na - ki

Bubilu, *Samunu,* *Bunaki,*

112. 

Qa - ab - ri - na Qa - ab - ri - na - ma

Qabrina, *Qabrinama*



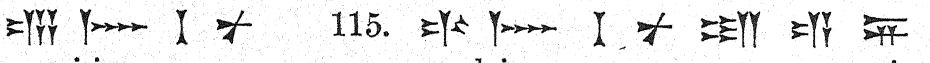
Ḫa - ra - ha alani su - nu - ti ak - su - ud

and Haraba, *their cities, I captured,*



ab - bul aq - qur ina isati ak - mu Ili su - nu

pulled down, destroyed, *in the fire I burned; their Gods,*



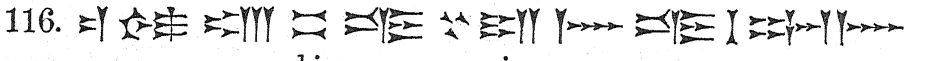
nisi su - nu alpi su - nu ẓe - e - ni

their people, *their oxen, their*



(v. zeni) su - nu sa - su su - nu sa - ga su - nu

sheep, *their furniture, their goods,*

116. 

ẓu - um - bi susi pare

carriages, *horses,* *mules,*

117. 

bat - li u - nu - tu ta - ḫa - zi as - lu - la

and weapons, instruments of war, I carried off



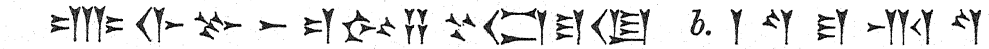
a - na Assur

to *Assyria.*

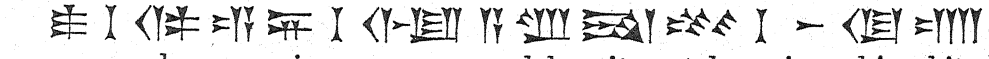
K, 2656. RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF DUPLICATES.



a. Um-man-al-da-ṣi ablu At-ta-mi-tu
Ummanaldas son of Attamitu,



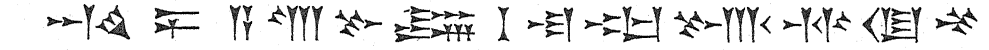
u-si-bu ina kuzzu Elam *b.* Tam-ma-ri-tu
sat on the throne of Elam. *Tammaritu*



as-su de-e-ni su va a-lak it-taḫ su ina ki-bit
for his sentence, and for going to his aid; by command of



Assur va Nergal u-zal-la-a bel-u-ti *c.* a-na-ku
Assur and Nergal, submitted to my dominion. *I am*



Assur-bani-pal lib-bu rap-su la-ka-ṣir ik-ki-mu
Assurbanipal of generous heart, of defection the remover.



ina tugul-ti Assur va Nergal Ili ti-ik-li ya
In the service of Assur and Nergal the Gods my protectors



d. sa-ni-a-nu ad-ki umman ya ṣi-ir
a second time I gathered my army; against



Um-man-al-da-ṣi ṣar E-lam-ti ag-ba-a
Ummanaldas king of Elam, I commanded



a-la-ku *e.* aḍ-ru-ud Um-man-al-da-ṣu ṣar
to go. *I drove back Ummanaldas king of*



Elam la pa - an kakki ya in - na - bit

Elam; from the face of my soldiers he fled



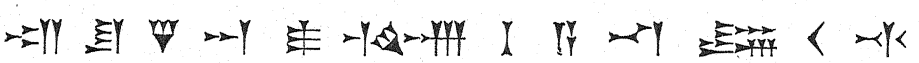
va sa - da - a su - e - li *f.* Tam-ma- ri -tu sa

and his mountain ascended. *Tammaritu who*



in - nab - ta iṣ - ba - ta niri ya ki - rib

fled and took my yoke, in



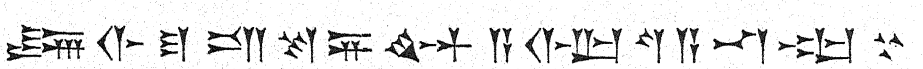
Su - sa - an as - kun su a - na ṣar - u - ti

Shushan I appointed him to the kingdom.



g. damqatu e - pu -su- us sa as - pu - ru it - taḥ - ṣu

The benefits I had done to him and had sent to his aid, he



in - si va is - te - ni - ha - a limut -tu a - na ka -sad

despised and devised evil, to capture



ummani ya *h.* Assur ṣar Ili Nergal be - lu

my army. *Assur king of the Gods and Nergal the lord*



ṣi - i - ru sa ina maḥ - ri ya il - la - ku

mighty, who in my presence march



u - sa - zi - zu in - ni ṣi - ir ga - ri ya

and exalt me over my enemies,



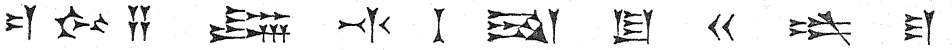
i. lib - bi Tam-ma- ri -tu iq - ṣu ba - ra - nu ip - ru

the heart of Tammaritu hard and perverse they broke,



va im - nu - u su qa - tu - u a *j.* ul - tu

and delivered him into my hand. From



kuzzu ṣaru - ti su id - ku - nis - suv - va

his royal throne they hurled him and



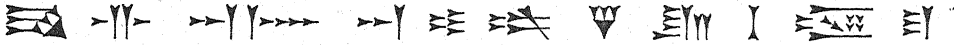
u - tir - ni - suv - va u - sak - ni - su - us a - na

overturned him, and subdued him to



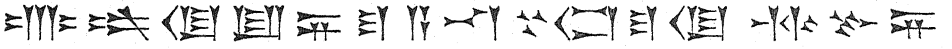
niri ya *k.* sal - si - a - nu Assur bel - ẓi - i - ru Nergal

my yoke. A third time Assur the mighty lord, Nergal



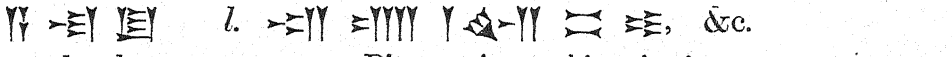
qar - rad Ili I - tak sa qati su az - ma

warrior of the Gods, and Itak whose hands are powerful,



u - tak - ki - lu - ni va a - na Elam ig - bu - ni

protected me, and to Elam they commanded



a - la - ku *l.* Bit - im - bi - i, &c.

to go. Bitimbi, &c.

Here follows the second war with Ummanaldas, the same as Cylinder A, col. v, line 121 and following.

The first war with Ummanaldas appears to have had for its object the restoration of Tammaritu, the fugitive king of Elam. The principal event of the campaign was the capture of Bit-imbi; after which, Ummanaldas abandoned his capital, and fled to the mountains. Tammaritu, who was then restored to the throne, soon revolted, and was deposed by Assurbanipal; the country coming once more under the sway of Ummanaldas.

PART XI.

The Second War with Ummanaldas.

TEXTS.

The texts of the second war with Ummanaldas are Cylinder A, col. v, line 118 to col. vii, line 96; two Epigraphs; several Extracts from Historical Tablets; and K, 3062.

Cylinder A, Column V, Lines 118 to 125.

118. 

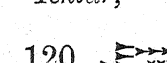
I - na samne gar - ri ya ina ki - bit Assur va

In my eighth expedition, by command of Assur and



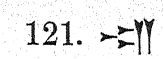
Istar 119. ad - ki umman ya ṣir Um - man - al - das

Ishtar, I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas

120. 

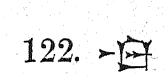
ṣar Elam us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu

king of Elam I directed the march.

121. 

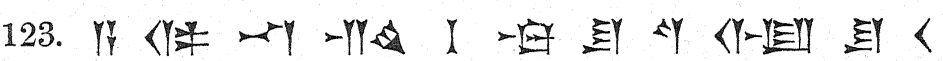
Bit - im - bi - i sa ina gar - ri ya maḫ - re - e

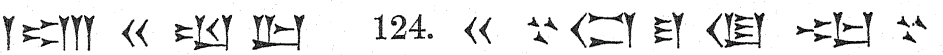
Bitimbi, which in my former expedition

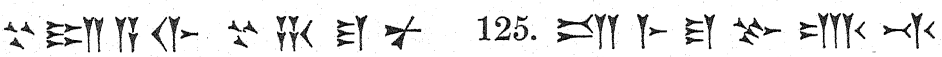
122. 

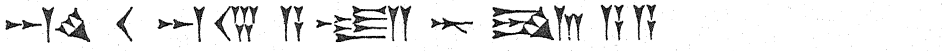
ak - su - du e - nin - na Ra - a - si Ḫa - ma - nu

I had captured, again Rasi, Hamanu,

123. 
a - di na - gi su ak - su - ud va su - u
and that district I captured; and he


Um - man - al - das 124. ṣar Elam ka - sad
Ummanaldas king of Elam, of the capture of

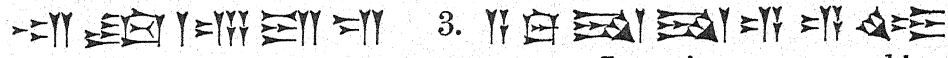

Ra - a - si Ha - ma - nu 125. is - mi va pu - luḫ - ti
Rasi and Hamanu heard, and fear of

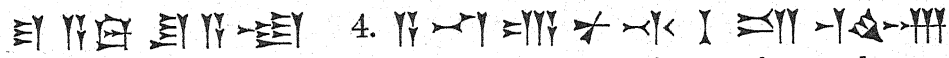

Assur va Istar a - li - kut ida - ai
Assur and Ishtar going before me

Column VI.

1. 
iṣ - ḫu - pu su va Ma - dak - tu alu ṣaru - ti su
overwhelmed him, and Madaktu his royal city

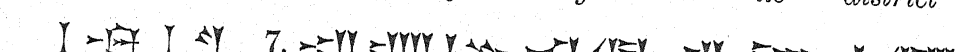
2. 
u - vas - sir va in - na - bit a - na
he abandoned, and fled to


Dur - un - da - si 3. It - it - e e - bir
Durundasi. The Itite, he crossed,

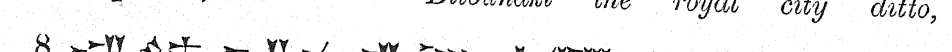

va nahr su - a - tu 4. a - na dan - nu - ti su is - kun
and that river for his stronghold he fixed,

5. 
uk - ta - ta - ṣir (v.) uk - taṣ - ṣir a - na ṣal - ti ya
and arranged in ranks to fight me.

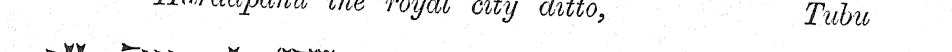
6. 
Na - di - tu alu ṣaru - ti va (v. a - di) na - gi
Naditu the royal city and its district


su ak - su - ud
I captured,

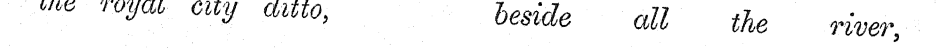
7.
Bit - bu - na - ki alu ṣaru - ti * *
Bitbunaki the royal city ditto,

8. 
Ḫar - dap - a - nu alu ṣaru ti * *
Hardapanu the royal city ditto,

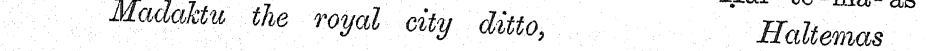
9.
Tu - u - bu
Tubu


alu ṣaru - ti * *
the royal city ditto,

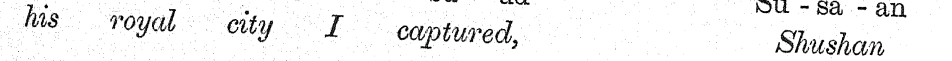
10.
bi - rit nahr ka - la - mu
beside all the river,


Ma - dak - tu alu ṣaru - ti * *
Madaktu the royal city ditto,

11.
Ḫal - te - ma - as
Haltemas


alu ṣaru - ti su ak - su - ud
his royal city I captured,

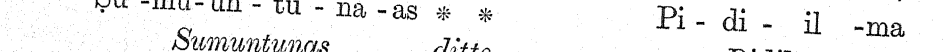
12.
Su - sa - an
Shushan


alu ṣaru - ti su ak - su - ud
his royal city I captured,

13.
Di - in - ṣar
Dinsar,


Ṣu - mu - un - tu - na - as * *
Sumuntunas ditto,

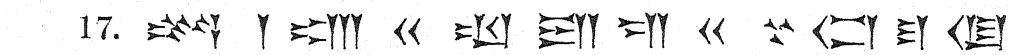
14.
Pi - di - il - ma
Pidilma


alu ṣaru - ti su
his royal city,

Bu - bi - lu * *
Bubilu ditto,

15. 
Ka - bi - in - ak (alu ṣaru - ti su) * *
Kabinak (his royal city) ditto.

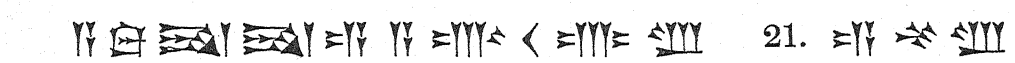
16. 
ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar ar - di va al - lik
In the service of Assur and Ishtar I marched and went

17. 
ṣir Um -man- al - da - ṣi ṣar Elam
after Ummanaldas king of Elam,

18. 
sa la ik -nu-sa a - na niri ya ina mi- ti - iq
who did not submit to my yoke. In the course

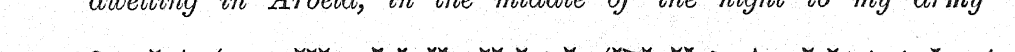

gar - ri ya 19. Dur - un - da (-a) - ṣi
of my expedition, Durundasi

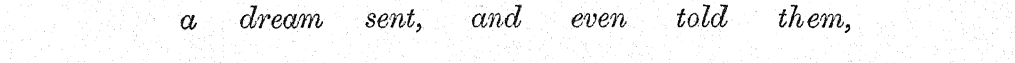

alu ṣaru - ti su ak - su - ud 20. umman ya
his royal city I captured. My army


It - it - e a - gu - u u - ru 21. e - mu - ru
the Itite in high flood saw, and


ip - la - ḫu a - na ni - ba - ar - ti 22. Istar
feared the crossing. Ishtar


a - si -bat Arba- il ina sat mu - si a - na umman ya
dwelling in Arbela, in the middle of the night to my army

23. 
suttu u - sap - ri va ki - a - am ig - bi su - nu
a dream sent, and even told them,

24. 
um - ma a - na - ku al - lak ina ma- ḫar Assur - bani-pal ṣar
thus: "I march in front of Assurbanipal, the king



25. sa ib - na - a qata ai e - li suttu an - ni - ti
whom my hands made." Over that vision



26. umman ya ir - ḫu - ṣu It - it - e e - bi - ru
my army rejoiced, and the Itite crossed



sal - mis 27. 14 alani mu - sab ṣaru - ti a - di
peacefully. Fourteen cities royal seats, and



alani ṣihruti (v. ṣi - hi - ru - ti) 28. sa ni - i - ba
smaller cities the numbers



la i - su - u va 12 na - ge - e 29. sa ki - rib
unknown, and twelve districts which are in



Elam ka - li su - nu ak - su - ud 30. ab - bul
Elam, all of them I took, I pulled down,



aq - qur ina isati ak - mu a - na tuli va gar - mi
destroyed, in the fire I burned, and to mounds and heaps



u - tir 31. ina la mi - ni a - duk qu - ra - de - e su
I reduced. Without number I slew his warriors,



ina kakki u - ra - aṣ - ṣib mun - taḫ - ṣe - (e)
with the sword I destroyed his powerful

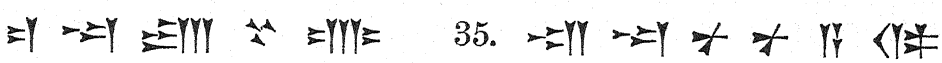


su ṣirati (v. ṣi - ru - ti) 33. Um - man - al - das ṣar
fighting men. Ummanaldas king of



Elam me - ra - nu - us - su in - na - bit va

Elam in his bitterness fled, and



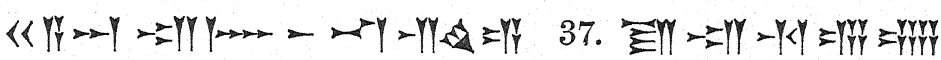
iẓ - ba - ta sadu - u Ba - nu - nu a - di

took to the mountain. Banunu and



na - ge - e sa Ta - ṣa - ra ka - la - mu

the districts of Tasara all,



20 alani ina na - ge - e sa Ḫu - un - nir

twenty cities in the districts of Hunnir,



ina eli mi (v. me) - iṣ - ri sa Ḫi - da - li (v. lu)

by the boundary of Hidalu,



ak - su - ud Ba - lim - mu va alani sa

I captured. Balimmu and the cities



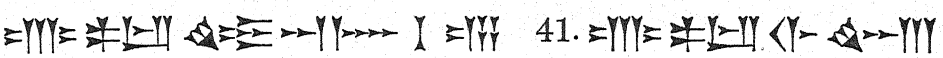
li - mi - ti - su ab - bul aq - qur sa nisi

round it, I pulled down and destroyed. Of the people



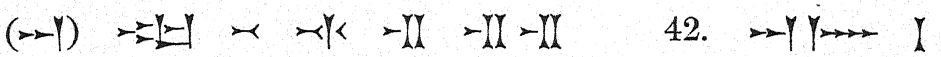
a - sib lib - bi su - nu ka - mar su - nu as - kun

dwelling within them, their misfortune I caused,



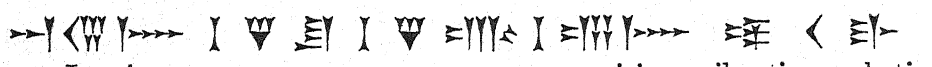
u - sab - bir Ili su - un u - sap - si iḫ

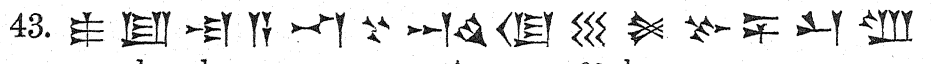
I broke up their Gods, I set at liberty the



(Ilu) ka - bat - ti bel beli Ili su

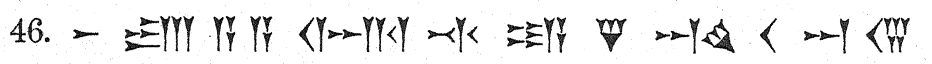
great Goddess of the lord of lords, his Gods,


Istari su sa - su su sa - ga su nisi zihruti va rabati
his Goddesses, his furniture, his goods, people small and great,

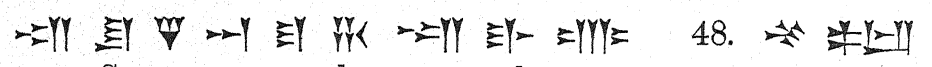
43. 
as - lu - la a - na Assur 60 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru
I carried off to Assyria. Sixty kaspu of ground,

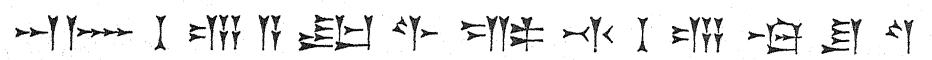
44. 
ina a-mat Assur va Istar sa u -ma- hi - ru in - ni
by the will of Assur and Ishtar who sent me,

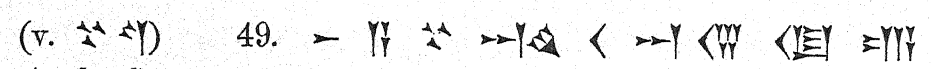
45. 
ki - rib Elam e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak sal-dis
within Elam I entered and marched victoriously.

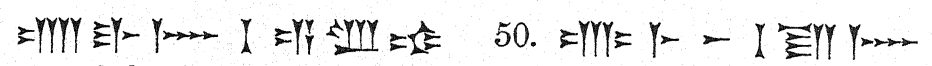
46. 
ina ta - ay - ar - ti ya sa Assur va Istar
On my return, when Assur and Ishtar


u - sa - zi - zu in - ni ṣir ga - ri ya
exalted me over my enemies,


Su - sa - an ma - ḥa - zu rab - u mu - sab
Shushan the great city, the seat of


Ili su- un a - sar pi - sak - ti su - un ak - su - ud
their Gods, the place of their oracle, I captured.

(v. )
(v. aksud)
49.
ina a - mat Assur va Istar ki - rib
By the will of Assur and Ishtar, into


e - kal - i su e - ru - ub u - sib ina ḥidati
its palaces I entered and sat with rejoicing.



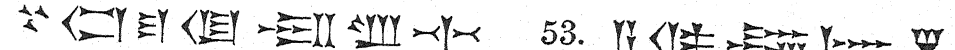
ap - te - e va bit na (v. nak) - kam - a - ti su-nu 51. sa
I opened also their treasure houses, of



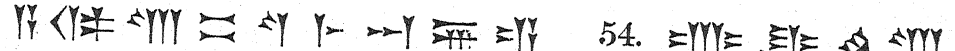
kasap (-i) ḫuraṣ (-i) sa - su (-i) sa - ga (-i)
silver, gold, furniture and goods,



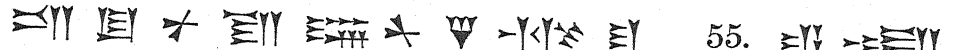
nu - uk - ku - mu ki - rib su - un 52. sa ṣarri
treasured within them; which the kings of



Elam maḥ - ru - ti 53. a - di ṣarri sa
Elam the former, and the kings who



a - di lib - bi im - mi an - ne - e 54. u - paḥ - ḫi - ru
were to these days, had gathered



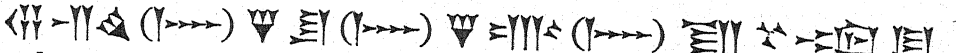
is - ku - nu sa nakiru sa - nam - ma 55. e - li
and made; which any other enemy beside



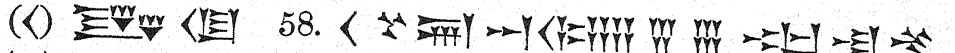
ya - a - si (v. ai - si) qat ṣu la u - bi - lu ina lib - bi
me, his hands had not put into them,



u - se - ṣa - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu 57. kasap (-i)
I brought out and as spoil I counted. Silver,



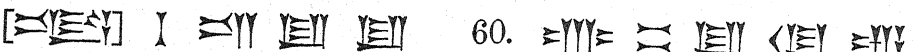
ḫuraṣ (-i) sa - su (-i) sa - ga (-i) sa Sumiri
gold, furniture and goods, of Sumir



(va) Akkadi va Gan - dun - i - as ka - la - mu
(and) Akkad and Gandunias, all that



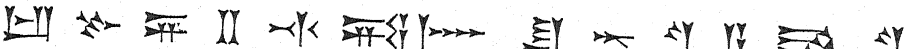
sa ṣarri Elam maḫ - ru - ti a - di
the kings of *Elam,* *the former and*



[arku] - su is - lu - lu u - bi - lu ki - rib
[latter,] had carried off *and brought within*



Elam za - ri - ru russu - u es - ma - ru - u
Elam; *bronze* *hammered,* *hard(?), and*



ib - bu ni - sik - ti abni su - qut - tu a - gar - tu
pure, *precious* *stones* *beautiful* *and* *valuable,*



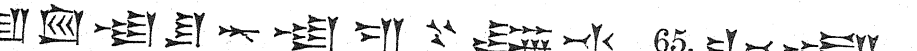
ṣi - mat ṣaru - ti sa ṣarri Akkad
belonging to royalty; *which kings of* *Akkad*



maḫ - ru - u - ti va Saul - mu - gi - na
former ones *and* *Saulmugina,*



a - na kit - ri su - nu ip - su - ru a - na Elam
for their aid had paid *to* *Elam:*



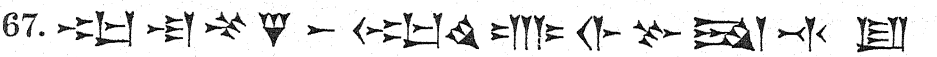
lu - bul - tu su - qut - tu ṣi - mat ṣaru - ti bat - li
garments beautiful, belonging to royalty, *weapons*



qa - ra - bi ṣi - ma - nu - u nin e - pis taḫaz ṣi - mat
of war, prepared for one to make battle, *suited*



qati su u - nu - ti mut - tab - bil - tu e - kal - i su
to his hand, instruments furnishing his palaces,

67. 

ka - la - mu su ina eli u - si - bu it - ti bibbu(?)

all that within it was placed, with the food

68. 

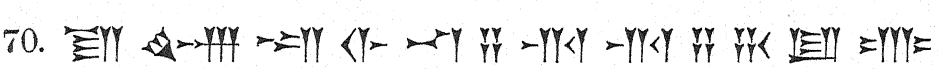
ina lib - bi e - ku - lu is - tu - u ir - mu - ku ip - pa - as - su

in the midst [which] he ate and drank, and the couch he reclined on,

69. 

ruqubi iz sa sa - da - di ṣu - um - bi

powerful war chariots,

70. 

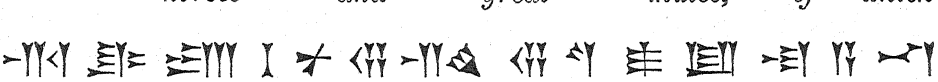
sa aḫ - zu si - na za - ri - ri za - ḫa - lu - u

of which their ornaments were bronze and paint,

71. 

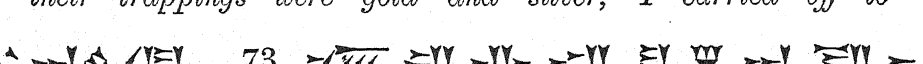
susi pare rabati 72. sa

horses and great mules, of which



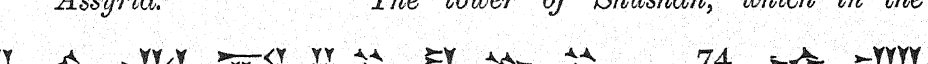
tal - lap - ta su - nu ḫuraṣ kasap as - lu - la a - na

their trappings were gold and silver, I carried off to



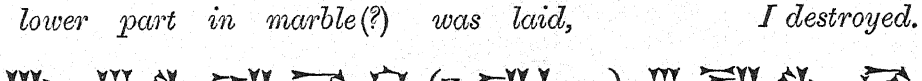
Assur 73. zik - kur - rat Su - sa - an sa ina

Assyria. The tower of Shushan, which in the



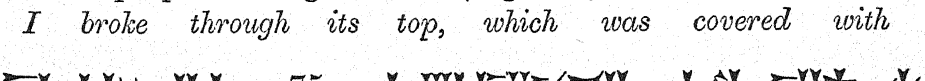
a - ḫi - ri uk - ni su - pu - lat 74. ub - bit

lower part in marble(?) was laid, I destroyed.



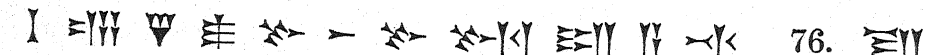
u - kip - pi - ra gar - rim (v. garrim) sa sa pi - tiq

I broke through its top, which was covered with



eru nam - ri 75. Susinaq(?) Ilu pi - sak - ti

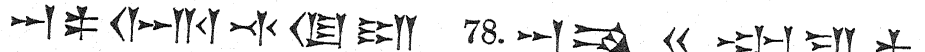
shining bronze. Susinaq(?) the God of their oracle,


su - un sa as - bu ina bu - uz - ra - a - ti 76. sa
who dwelt in the groves; whom


man-ma - an la im -ma - ru ip - sit ilu - ti su - (ni)
any one had not seen the image of his divinity,

77.


Su - mu - du La - ga - ma - ru
Sumudu, Lagomer,


Pa- ar - ti - ki - ra 78. Am -man- ka - ṣi -bar
Partikira, Ammankasibar,


U - du - ra - an Ṣa - pa - ak 79. sa ṣarri
Uduran and Sapak; of whom the kings


Elam ip - tal (v. ta - na) - la - ḫu
of Elam worship


Ilu - uṣ - ṣu - un 80. Ra - gi - ba
their divinity. Ragiba,


Ṣu - un -gur- ṣa - ra - a Ka - ar - ṣa
Sumugursara, Karsa,

81.

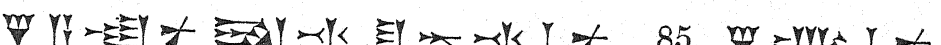

Ki - ir - ṣa -ma - aṣ Su - du -nu
Kirsamas, Sudunu,

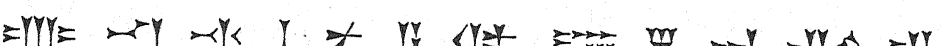

Ai - pa - ak - ṣi - na 82. Bi - la - la
Aipaksina, Bilala,


Pa - ni - in - tim - ri Ṣi - la - ga - ra - a
Panintimri, *Silagara,*

83. 
Na - ap - ṣa - a Na - bir - tu
Napsa, *Nabirtu* *and*


Ki - in - da - kar - bu 84. Ili Istari
Kindakarbu, *these* *Gods* *and*

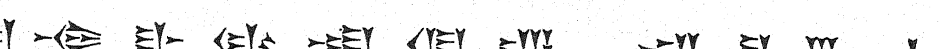

sa - a - tu - nu it - ti su-qut- ti su-nu 85. sa - ga su-nu
Goddesses, *with* *their* *valuables,* *their* *goods,*


u - na - ti su - nu a - di sa - an - ge - e
their *furniture,* *and* *priests,* *and*

86. 
bu - uḫ - la - le - e as - lu - la a - na
worshippers, *I* *carried* *off* *to*


Assur 87. 32 zalam (-i) ṣarri
Assyria. *Thirty-two* *statues* *of* *kings,*

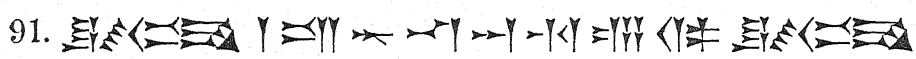

pi - tiq (v. ti - iq) kasap ḫuraṣ eru 88.
fashioned *of* *silver,* *gold,* *bronze* *and*


ṣamul - rab ul - tu ki - rib Su - sa - an
alabaster, *from* *out* *of* *Shushan,*

89. 
Ma - dak - tu Ḫu - ra - di 90. a - di
Madaktu *and* *Huradi,* *and*



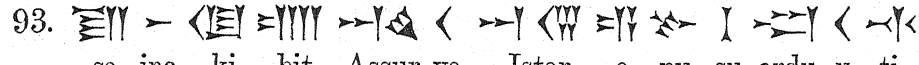
zalam Um -man- i -gas ablu Um - ba - da - ra -a
a statue of Ummanigas son of Umbadara,

91. 

zalam Is -tar- na -an - ḫu - un - di zalam
a statue of Istarnanhundi, a statue of



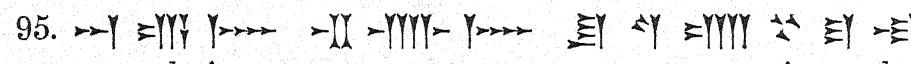
Ḫal- lu - ṣi 92. zalam Tam-ma- ri - tu arku - u
Halludus and a statue of Tammaritu the later,

93. 

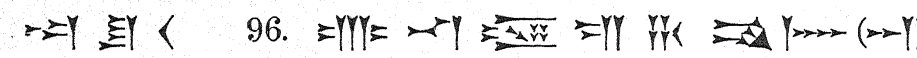
sa ina ki - bit Assur va Istar e - pu -su ardu -u - ti
who by command of Assur and Ishtar made submission to me,

94. 

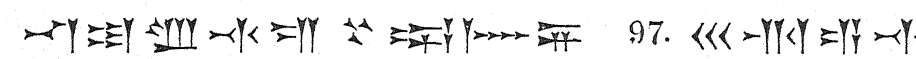
al -qa -a a - na Assur ad - ka -a sedi
I brought to Assyria. I broke the winged lions

95. 

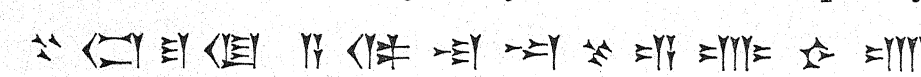
alapi maṣartu su -par e -sir ma- la
and bulls watching over the temple, all



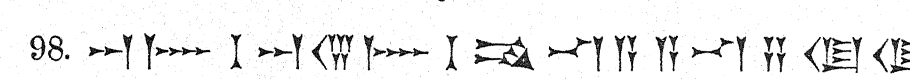
ba - su - u 96. u - na - aṣ - ṣi - ḫa remi
there were. I removed the winged



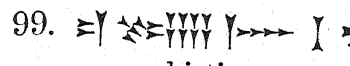
na - at - ru - ti ṣi -mat babani 97. es - re - e - ti
bulls attached to the gates of the temples of

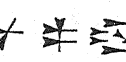


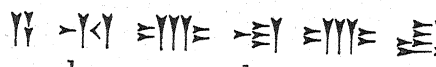
Elam a - di la ba - se - e u - sal - pit
Elam, until they were not, I overturned.

98. 

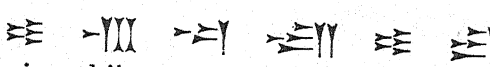
Ili su Istari su am - na -a a - na za - ki - ki
His Gods and his Goddesses I sent into captivity,

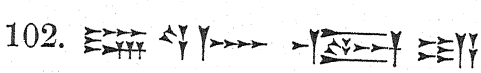
99. 
kisti su-nu pa- az - ra -a- ti
their forest groves,

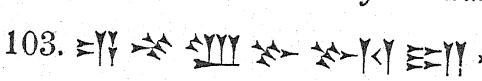
100. 
sa nin
which any


a - ḫu - u la u - ṣar - ru ina lib - bi
other had not penetrated into the midst,

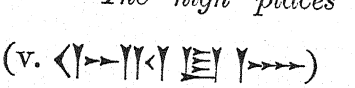
101.
la
had not

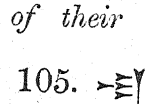

(v.)
i - kib - ba - ṣu i - ta sun (v. si - in)
trodden their outskirts;

102. 
ẓabi taḫaz ya ki - rib sun e - ru - bu
my men of war into them entered,

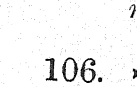
103. 
e -mu- ru bu - uz - ra sun ik -mu-u ina isatu
saw their groves, and burned [them] in the fire.

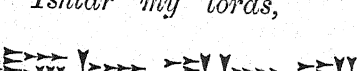
104. 
asar ẓirati ṣarri su-nu maḫ - ru - ti arku - i
The high places of their kings, former and latter,

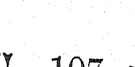
(v. )
(v. ar -ku- i)

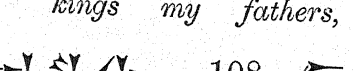
105. 
la pa- li -ḫu - ti Assur va
not fearing Assur and

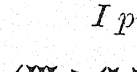

Istar beli ya
Ishtar my lords,

106. 
mu - nir (v. nir) - ri - ḍu
opposers of the


ṣarri abi ya
kings my fathers,

107. 
ab - bul aq -qur u -kal - li
I pulled down, destroyed and burnt

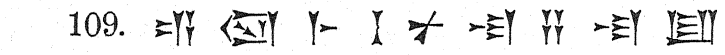

sam- si
in the sun.

108. 
ner-pad-du - i su-nu al - qa - a a - na
Their attendants I brought to



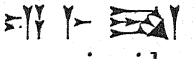
Assur

Assyria,

109. 

e - kim - mi sú - nu la za - la - lu

their leaders without shelter



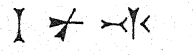
e - mi - id

I placed.

110. 

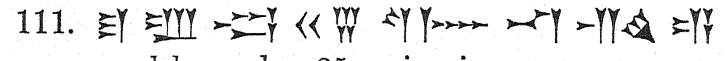
ki - iz - pi sati me u - ṣa - am - mi

The wells of drinking water I dried them



su - nu - ti

up,

111. 

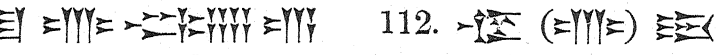
ma - lak araḥ 25 immi na - ge - e

for a journey of a month and twenty-five days the districts



Elam u - saḥ - rib

of Elam I laid waste,

112. 

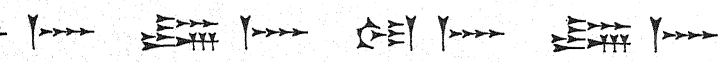
dabu (- u) ebiltu

destruction, servitude



ḥasasu u - sap - pi - ḥa ṣir - us - su - un

and drought I poured over them.

113. 

binti ṣarri ninati ṣarri

The daughters of kings, consorts of kings,

114. 

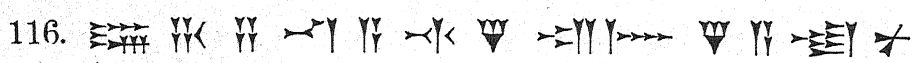
a - di qi - in - ni maḥ - ri - ti va arku - ti

and families former and latter

115. 

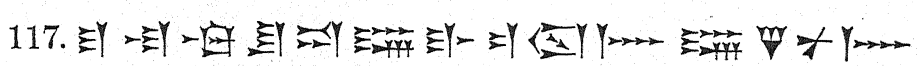
sa ṣarri Elam ki - pa - a - ni

of the kings of Elam, the governors and

116. 

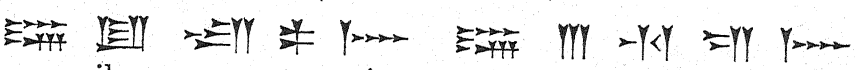
ḥa - za - na - a - ti sa alani sa - a - tu - nu

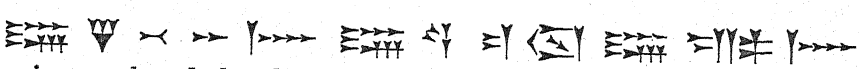
citizens of those cities,

117. 

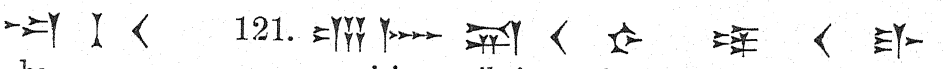
ma - la ak - su - du nis rab mitpani sanuti

all I had captured; the commanders of archers, prefects,

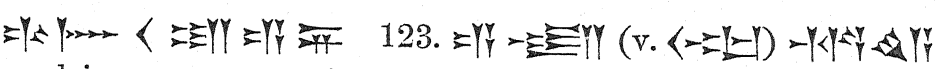
118. 
mugil supa - i nis 3 ḫu - ṣi - i
*directors of * *, three horse charioteers*

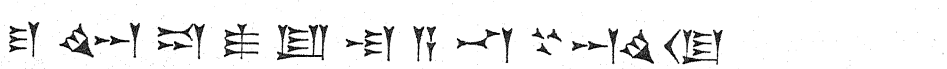
119. 
nis sa bat-ḫal - li ṣab - mitpanu sak - i
chariot drivers, archers, officers,

120. 
kit - kit - tu va gi - mir um -ma- a - ni ma - la
camp followers(?) and the whole of the army, all

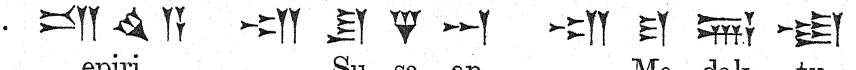

ba - su - u 121. nisi zikri va sinnis ṣiḫruti va rabati
there was, people male and female, small and great,

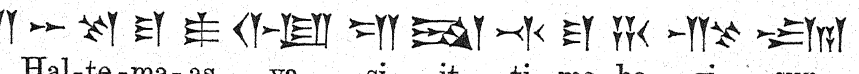

susi 122. pare imiri
horses, mules, asses,

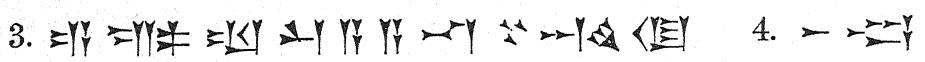

alpi va ṣe - e - ni 123. e - li (v. eli) salati
oxen and sheep, beside much


ma - ḫa - du as - lu - la a - na Assur
spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

Column VII.

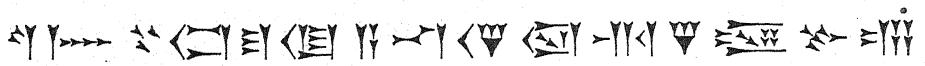
1. 
epiri Su - sa - an Ma - dak - tu
The dust of Shushan, Madaktu,

2. 
Ḫal-te-ma-as va ṣi - it - ti ma ḫa - zi sun
Haltemas, and the rest of their cities,



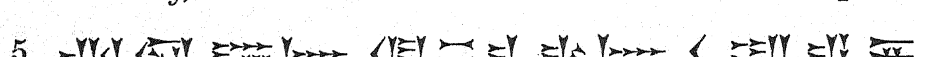
3. e - ris al - qa - a a - na Assur 4. ina araḫ

entirely I brought to Assyria. For a month



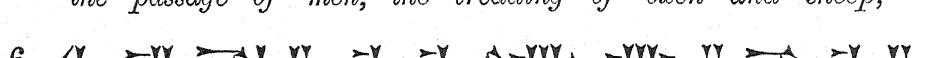
immi Elam a - na pat gim - ri sa aṣ - pu - un

and a day, Elam to its utmost extent I swept;



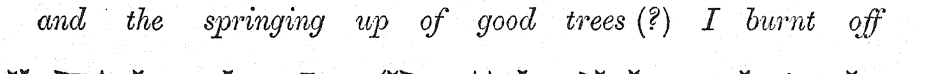
5. ri - kim amiluti ki - bi - iṣ alpi va ṣe - e - ni

the passage of men, the treading of oxen and sheep,



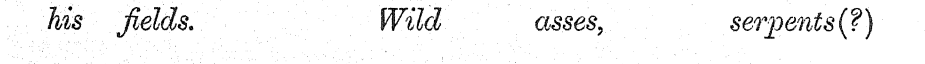
6. si - ṣi - it a - la - la ḍabu u - ṣa - am - ma - a

and the springing up of good trees (?) I burnt off



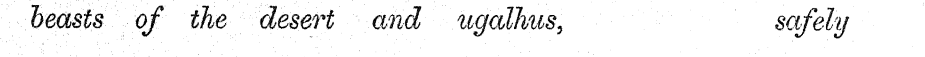
a - gar - i su 7. imiri ṣin - na - i dassi

his fields. Wild asses, serpents (?)



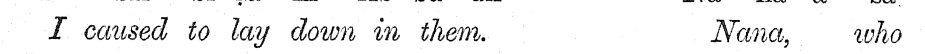
u - ma - am ṣin u - gal - ḫu - u 8. par - ga - nis

beasts of the desert and ugalhus, safely



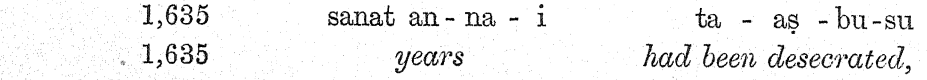
u - sar - bi - ṣa ki - rib su - un 9. Na - na - a sa

I caused to lay down in them. Nana, who



1,635 sanat an - na - i 10. ta - aṣ - bu - su

1,635 *years had been desecrated,*



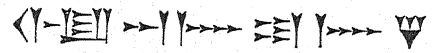
tal - li - ku tu - si - bu 11. ki - rib Elam

had gone, and dwelt in Elam,



a - sar la ṣi - ma - ti sa 12. va i - na im - mi su va si - i

a place not appointed to her; and in those days, she



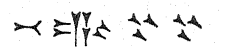
va Ili abi sa

and the Gods her fathers,

13. 

tab-bu - u su-mi a - na

proclaimed my name to the



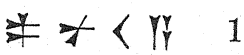
be - lut matati

dominion of the earth.

14. 

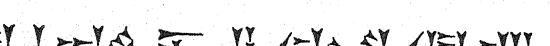
ta - ai - rat Ilu - ti sa ṭu -sat- gi - la

The return of her divinity she entrusted



pa -nu-u a

to me,

15. 

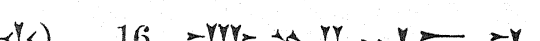
um -ma Assur-bani-pal ul -tu ki - rib

thus: "*Assurbanipal, from the midst of*



Elam (lim - ni - ti)

Elam (*wicked*),

16. 

u -se-ẓa an - ni va

bring me out, and



u - se - rab an - ni ki - rib Bit - an - na 17. a-mat

cause me to enter into Bitanna." *The will*



ki - bit Ilu - ti su-nu sa ul - tu immi ruquti

commanded by their divinity, which from days remote



18. ig - bu - u e - nin - na u - kal - li - mu

they had uttered; again they spoke to



nisi arkati

later people.

19. 

qati Ilu - ti sa rab - ti

The hands of her great divinity

at - mu - uḥ (va)

I took hold of, (*and*)

20. 

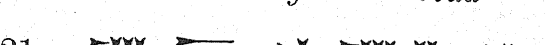
mur - ra - an i - sir - tu

the straight road



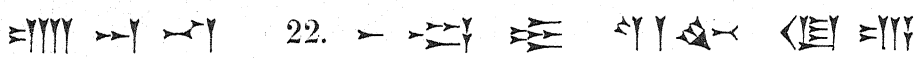
ul - lu - uṣ lib - bi

rejoicing in heart,

21. 

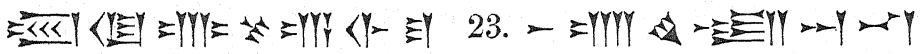
ta - aẓ - ba - ta a - na

she took to



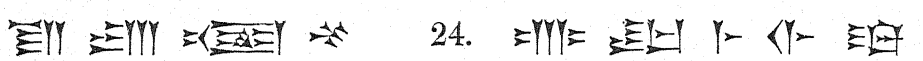
Bit - an - na ina araḫ Kiṣilivu immi 1 ki - rib

Bitanna. *In the month Kislev, the first day, into*



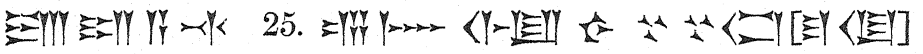
Aruk u - se - rib si va ina Bit - ḫi - li - an - na

Erech I caused her to enter, and in Bithilianni



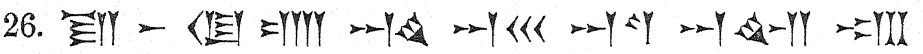
sa ta - ram - mu u - sar - mi si parak

which she had delighted in, I set her up an enduring



da - ra - a - ti nisi va sal - lat Elam

sanctuary. *People and spoil of Elam,*



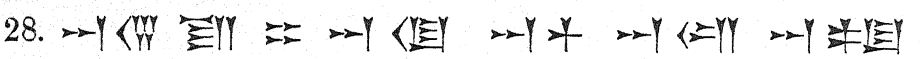
sa ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel

which by command of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,



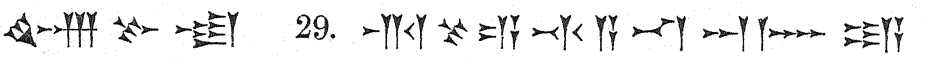
Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il sar - rat Kit-mu- ri

Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,



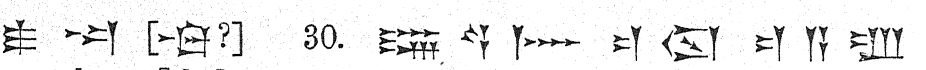
Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku

Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,



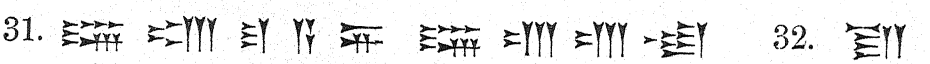
aḫ - bu - tu ri - se - e - ti a - na Ili ya

I had carried away; the first part to my Gods



as - ba - [ak?] ṣabi mitpanu iṣ - a - lak

I devoted. *The archers, footmen(?),*



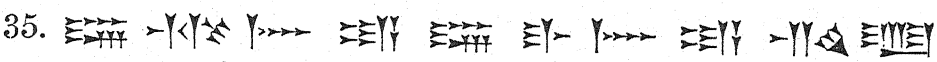
nis um - ma - a - ni kit - kit - tu sa

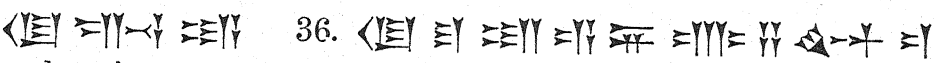
soldiers and camp followers(?) whom

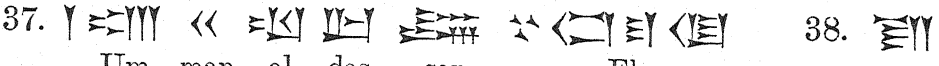

as - lu - la ul - tu ki - rib Elam
I carried off from the midst of Elam;

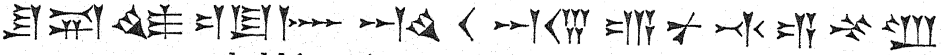
33. 
e - li ki - ẓir ṣaru - ti ya u - rad - di
over the body of my kingdom I spread.

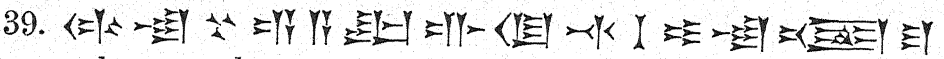
34. 
ṣi - it - tu - ti a - na ma-ḥa- zi su-bat Ili ya
The rest to the cities seats of my Gods,

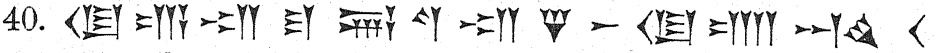
35. 
sanuti ya nis rabati ya gi - mir
my prefects, my great men, and all

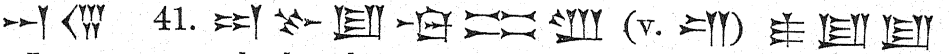

karasi ya ki -ma ẓe - e - ni u -za- hi -iz
my camp, like sheep I caused to overflow.

37. 
Um -man- al -das ṣar Elam sa
Ummanaldas king of Elam, who the


su- us - mur kakki Assur va Istar dan-nu- ti e -mu- ru
vigour of the powerful soldiers of Assur and Ishtar had seen;

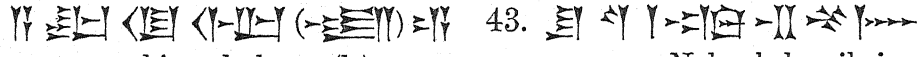
39. 
ul - tu sad- e a - sar mar- ki - ti su i - tu - rav -va
from the mountain, the place of his refuge, he returned and

40. 
ki - rib Ma - dak - tu alu sa ina ki - bit Assur va
into Madaktu, the city which by command of Assur and

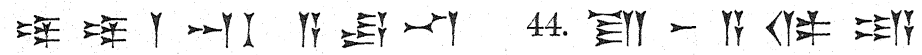

Istar ab - bu - lu aq - qu - ru (v. qur) as - lu - lu
Ishtar I had pulled down, destroyed and carried off



(v. la) sal-lat ṣu 42. e-ru-ub u-sib ina ṣi-bit-ti
its spoil; *he entered and sat in sorrow,*



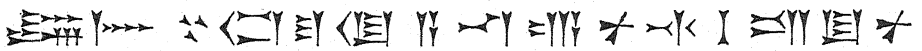
a-sar ki ḫul-(le)-e 43. su-par Nabu-bel-zikri
in a place dishonoured. *Concerning Nebobelzikri,*



ablu abli Maraduk-bal-iddina sa ina a-di-ya
the grandson of Merodachbaladan; *who against my agreement*



iḫ-ḍu-u iz-lu-u niri belu-ti ya sa
had sinned, and thrown off the yoke of my dominion: who



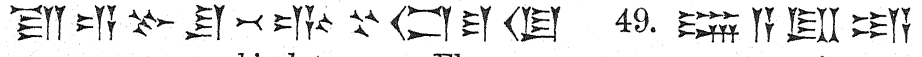
ṣarri Elam a-na dan-nu-ti su is-ku-nu
on the kings of Elam to strengthen him had relied,



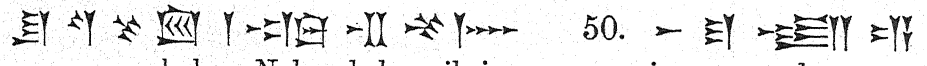
it-tak-lu a-na Um-man-i-gas Tam-ma-ri-tu
had trusted to Ummanigas, Tammaritu,



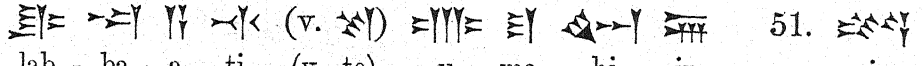
In-da-bi-gas Um-man-al-das ṣarri
Indabigas and Ummanaldas, kings



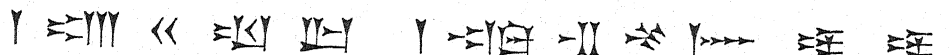
sa e-pu-su bi-lut Elam a-mir ya
who had ruled the dominion of Elam. *My envoy*



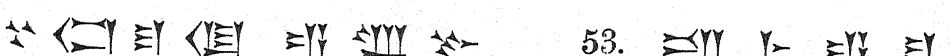
su-par se-bul Nabu-bel-zikri ina ma-le-e
about the surrender of Nebobelzikri, *with determination*



lab-ba-a-ti (v. te) u-ma-hi-ir ṣir
of purpose I sent to


Um - man - al - das Nabu - bel - zikri ablu abli
Ummanaldas. *Nebobelzikri,* *grandson of*

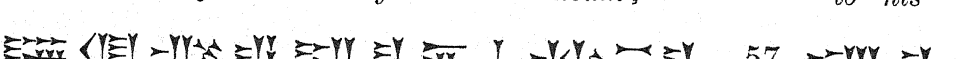

Maruduk-bal-iddina a - lak a - mir ya sa ki - rib
Merodachbaladan, *of the journey of my envoy who into*


Elam e - ru - bu is - me - e va
Elam had entered *heard, and*


ik - ku (v. ki) - tu lib - ba su ir - sa a - na suq - tu
his heart was afflicted. He inclined to despair,

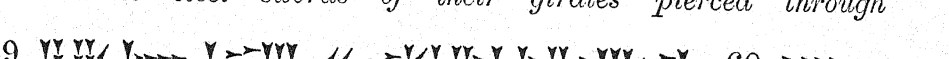

na - pis - ta su pa - nu - us - su ul i - bis va
his life before him he did not regard, and

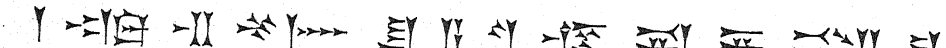

iḫ - su - ḫa me (v. mi) - tu - u - tu a - na
longed for death; *to his*


ki - ze - e ra - ma - ni su ig - bi va um - ma
own armour-bearer he said also *thus:*


ra - si - ban - ni ina kakki su - u ki - zu
"Slay me with the sword." *He and his armour-bearer*


su ina gir parzil sib - bi su-nu ub - ta - te (v. ti) - ḫu
with the steel swords of their girdles pierced through


a-ḫa-mis Um - man - al - das ip - luḫ va pagar
each other. *Ummanaldas feared, and the corpse of*



Nabu - bel - zikri su - a - tu ḍabtu us - ni - il va

that Nebobelzikri [who] benefits trampled on,

61. 

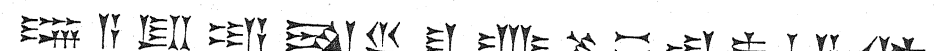
a - di qaqadu ki - zu su sa

with the head of his armour-bearer who



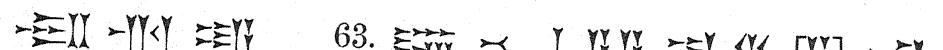
u - ra - (aṣ -) ṣi - bu su ina kakki 62. a - na

destroyed him with the sword, to



a - mir ya id -din va u -se - bi - la - as -su a - di

my envoy he gave, and he sent it to



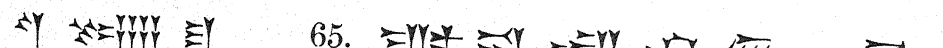
maḥ - ri ya 63. pagar su ai ad -din [a] - na

my presence. His corpse may I not(?) give to



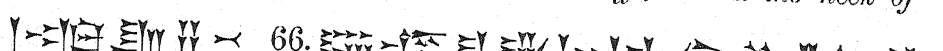
ki - bi - ri 64. eli sa maḥ - ri mi - tu - uṣ ṣu

burial(?) more than before his death



ut - tir va 65. qaqad ṣu ak - kiṣ ina kikur

I returned, and his head I cut off; round the neck of



Nabu -qati-ẓa-bat 66. mun-ma-kir Saul -mu- gi - na

Neboqatizabat the munmakir of Saulmugina

67. 

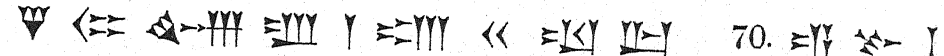
aḥi nak - ri sa it - ti su a - na dak - ku - ri

my rebellious brother, who with him to pass into

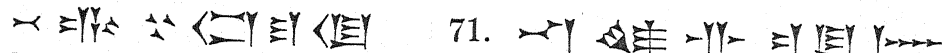
68. 

Elam il - li - ku a - lul 69. Pa- he - e

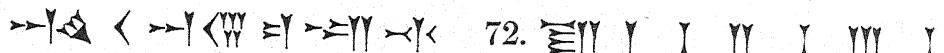
Elam had gone; I hung. Pahe



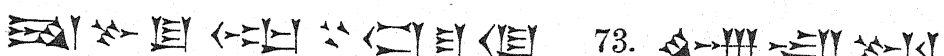
sa mi - iḥ - rit Um - man- al - das 70. e - pu - su
who against Ummanaldas, had ruled the



be- lut Elam 71. na - mur - rat kakki
dominion of Elam, the terror of the powerful



Assur va Istar iz - zu - ti 72. sa edu su sanu su salsu su
soldiers of Assur and Ishtar, who the first, second, and third time



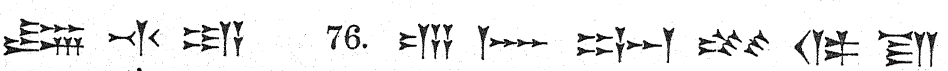
id - bu - ku eli Elam 73. iḥ - ṣu - uṣ
had trampled over Elam covered him,



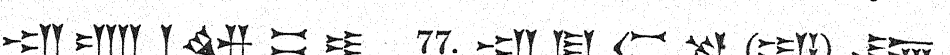
va ir - sa - a ḍi - ib lib - bi 74. ul - tu ki - rib
and he trusted to the goodness of my heart, from the midst of



Elam in - nab - tu va 75. iẓ - ba - ta niru
Elam he fled and took the yoke of



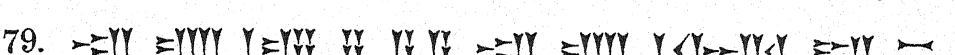
ṣaru - ti ya 76. nisi mul - taḥ - ḍi sa
my kingdom. The people, sinners of



Bit - im - bi - i 77. Ku - zur - te (- ya) - in
Bitimbi, Kuzurtein,

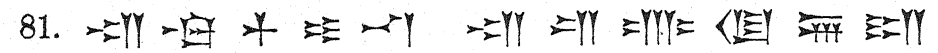


Dur - ṣar 78. Ma- ṣu - tu Bu - be - e
Dursar, Masutu, Bube,

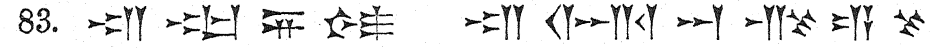


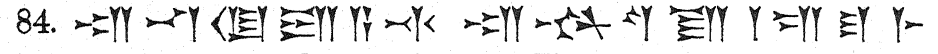
79. Bit - un - za - ai Bit - ar - ra - bi
Bitunzai, Bitarrabi.

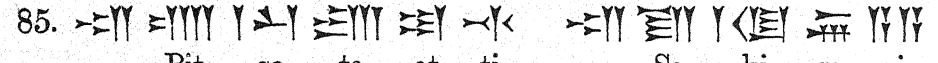
80. 
Ip - rat Za - gar sa Ta - pa - pa
Iprat, Zagar of Tapapa,

81. 
Ak - bar - i - na Gur - u - ki - ir - ra
Akbarina, Gurukirra,

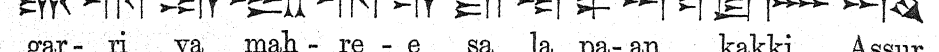
82. 
Du - un - nu - sa - mas Ḫa - ma - nu
Dunnushamas, Hamanu,

83. 
Ka - ni - ẓu Ar - an - ze - e - se
Kanizu, Aranzese,

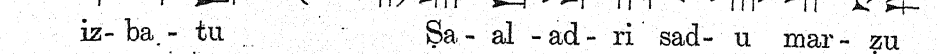
84. 
Na - ki - da - a - ti Timin - ut sa Ṣi - ma - mi
Nakidati, Timinut of Simami,

85. 
Bit - qa - ta - at - ti Sa - ki - ṣa - ai
Bitqatatti, Sakisai,

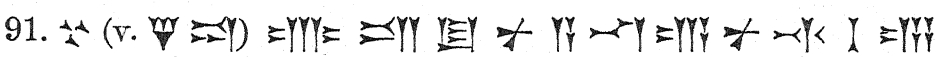
86. 
Zu - ba - ḫe - e Tul - ḫu - un - ba 87. sa ina
Zubahe, and Tulhunba, who in


gar - ri ya maḫ - re - e sa la pa - an kakki Assur
my former expedition, from the face of the powerful soldiers

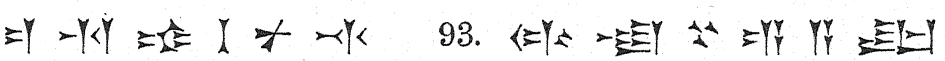
88. 
va Istar dan - nu - (u) - ti in - nab - tu
of Assur and Ishtar fled and

89. 
iz - ba - tu Ṣa - al - ad - ri sad - u mar - ẓu
took to Saladri, a rugged mountain;


nisi sa-a-tu-nu sa ina Ṣa-al-ad-ri
those people who on Saladri


sad (v. sa-du)-u is-ku-nu a-na dan-nu-ti su-un
the mountain fixed their stronghold,


nam (v. ri?)-ri-ri Assur va Istar beli ya
the terror of Assur and Ishtar my lords

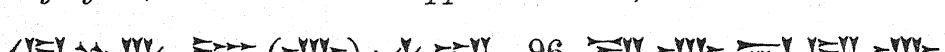

iṣ-ḫu-ub su-nu-ti
overwhelmed them;


ul-tu sad-e a-sar
from the mountain the place

mar-ki-ti su-un in-nab-tu-niv-va
of their refuge they fled and


iẓ-ba-tu
took

niri ya a-na mitpanu ak-ẓur su-nu-ti
my yoke; to the bow I appointed them,

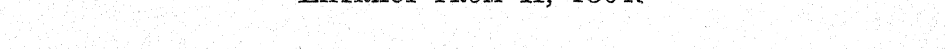

e-li
over

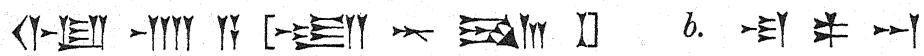
ki-ẓir ṣaru-(u)-ti ya
the body of my kingdom

sa u-mal-lu-u
which filled


qatu (v. qa-tu)-u a u-rad-di
my hand I spread.

Extract from K, 1364.


a. Tam-ma-ri-tu aḫi su qi-nu su ziri bit abi su
Tammaritu, his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house,



va rubi a- [li -kut idi su] *b.* la pa - an

and the princes going [before him]; from the face of



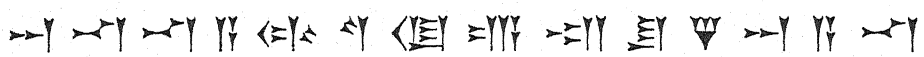
In - da - bi - gas ardu su in -nab - tu va iz - ba - ta niru

Indabigas his servant fled, and took the yoke



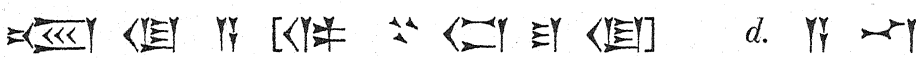
ṣaru [- ti ya] a - mir ya *c.* su - par a - lak

of [my] kingdom. My envoy concerning the journey of



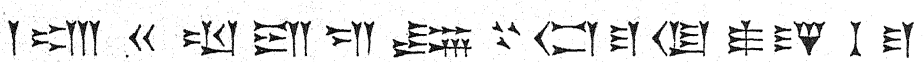
Na - na - a ul - tu ki - rib Su - sa - an a - na

Nana from the midst of Shushan to



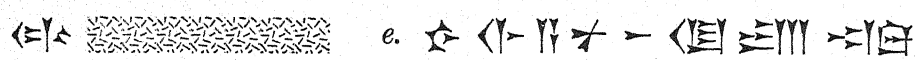
Aruk a - [di Elam] *d.* a - na

Erech; to [Elam] to



Um - man- al - da - ṣi ṣar Elam as - pur su va

Ummanaldas king of Elam I sent him, and



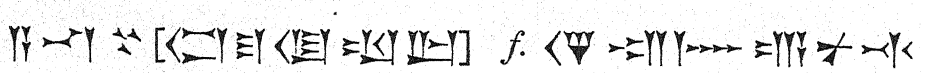
ul * * * * * * *e.* sal - si - a - nu ina saplita Nabu

he did not [grant it?]. A third time in obedience to Nebo,



ablu ṣar Ili kap - ti sa lab - bu - u nam - ri - ri

son of the king of the Gods, mighty, clothed with terror,



a - na [Elam al - lik] *f.* 14 alani dan - nu - ti

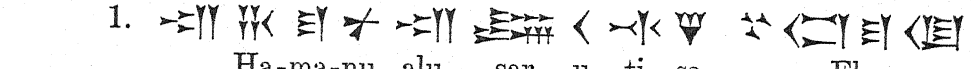
to [Elam I went]; fourteen cities, strong,



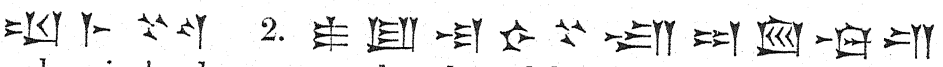
mu - sab ṣaru - ti su - un, &c. See Cyl. A, col. VI, line 27.

seats of their royalty, &c.

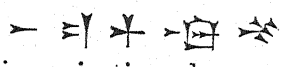
Epigraph over Warriors Destroying a City, and Carrying off Spoil.



1. Ḫa-ma-nu alu ṣar - u - ti sa Elam
Hamanu the royal city of Elam,

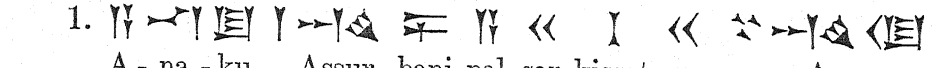


al - mi aksud 2. as - lu - la sal-lat ṣu ab - bul aq - qur
I besieged, I captured, I carried off its spoil, I pulled down, destroyed,

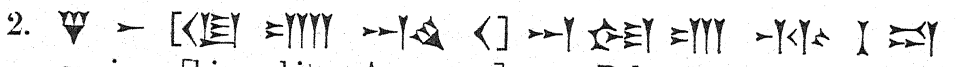


ina isati ak - mu
and in the fire I burned.

Epigraph over King receiving Prisoners and Spoil.



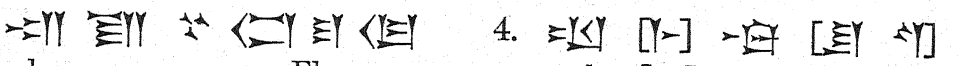
1. A - na - ku Assur - bani-pal sar kissat sar Assur
I am Assurbanipal, king of nations, king of Assyria;



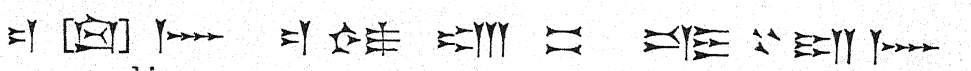
2. sa ina [ki - bit Assur va] Belat ik - su-du
who by the [will of Assur and] Beltis, has taken



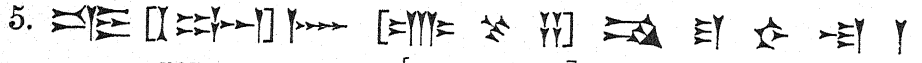
ẓu - um - mi - rat lib - bi su 3. Di - in - [ṣar]
the desire of his heart. *Dinsar,*



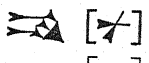
alu sa Elam 4. al - [mi] ak - [su - ud]
a city of Elam, *I besieged, I captured,*



ruqubi ẓu - um - bi susi
war chariots, horses and

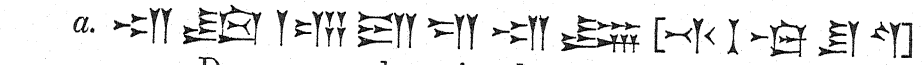
5. 

pare [u - se - ṣa] - av - va sal - la - tis
mules, I brought out and as spoil I



am - [nu]
counted.

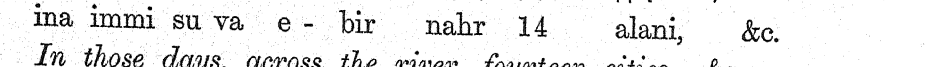
K, 3404, Variant Passage for Cylinder A, Column VII, Lines 19 to 27.

a. 

Dur - un - da - ṣi alu ṣaru - [ti su ak - su - ud]
Durundasi, his royal city, I captured.

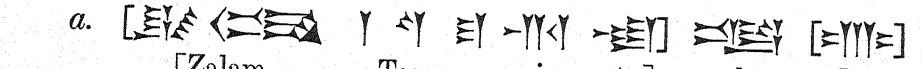
b. 

edin immi sanu immi ul u - qi pa - an - si * * * *
One day, two days, I did not move, the face * * * *

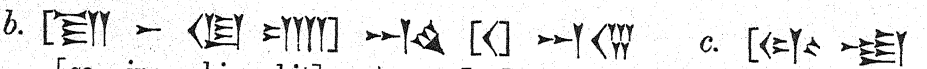
c. 

ina immi su va e - bir nahr 14 alani, &c.
In those days, across the river, fourteen cities, &c.

K, 3062.

a. 

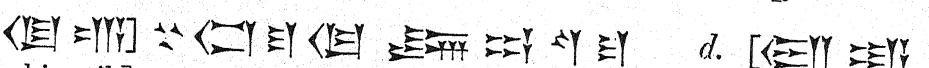
[Ṣalam Tam - ma - ri - tu] arku - [u]
[A statue of Tammaritu] the later,

b. 

[sa ina ki - bit] Assur [va] Istar
[who by command] of Assur [and] Ishtar,

c.

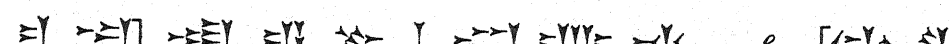
[ul - tu
[from the

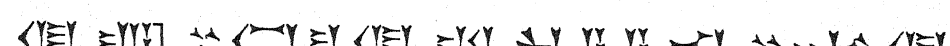


ki - rib] Elam in - nab - tu va
midst] of Elam fled, and

d.

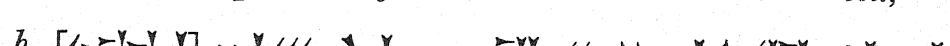
[niri ya
my yoke


iẓ - ba] - tu e - pu -su ardu - u - ti *e.* [ul - tu
took, doing homage to me; [*from the*


ki - rib] Elam al - qa - a a - na Assur
midst] of Elam I brought to Assyria.


f. zalam Ḥal- lu - ṣu ṣar Elam an-nu-u
[*A statue*] *of Halludus king of Elam, the one*

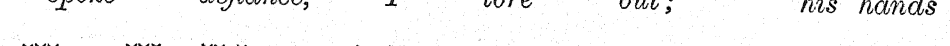

g. [sa a - na] Assur ig - bu - du li - mut - tu
[*who against*] *Assyria had devised evil,*

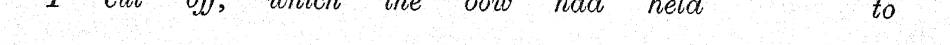

h. [eli] Sin - aḥi - irba ṣar Assur abu abi
[*against*] *Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather*

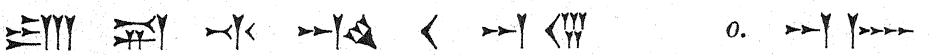

bani ya [e - bu] -su ẓi - lu - u *j.* pu su sa
my begetter, he had made war. *His mouth, which*


is - ni - iẓ - ẓu ak - kiṣ *k.* ṣapti su sa
* * * * , *I cut off;* *his lips, which*

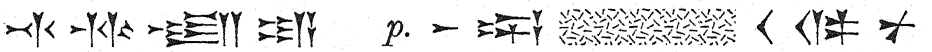

ig - ba - a mi - ri - iḥ - tu ap - ru - uh *l.* qati su
spoke defiance, I tore out; *his hands*


u - kar - ri - it sa mitpanu iẓ - ba - tu *m.* a - na
I cut off, which the bow had held *to*

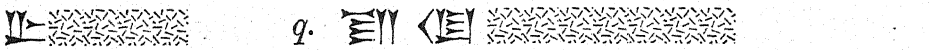

mit - ḥu - ẓi Assur *n.* a - na da - la - li
fight Assyria. *For the exalting of*



ta - us - ti Assur va Istar *o.* Ili
the will of Assur and Ishtar, *the Gods*

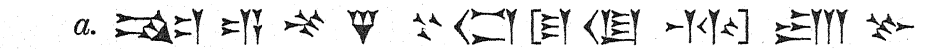


ti - ik - li ya *p.* ina babi * * * * va di - nu
my protectors, *in the gate* * * * * * * *

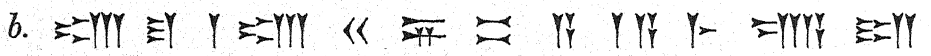


* * * * *q.* sa ki - [rib] * * * *
* * * * *which is in [Nineveh?].*

Extract from Dispatch of Officer to King. K, 10.



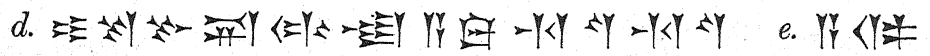
a. Ḍe - e - mu sa Elam ig - ta - bu
News of Elam they told



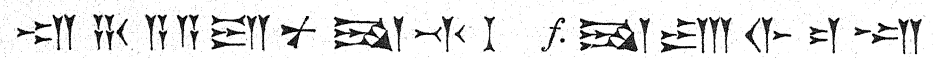
b. um - ma Um - man - ni - gas ablu A - mi - dir - ra
thus: "*Ummannigas son of Amidirra*



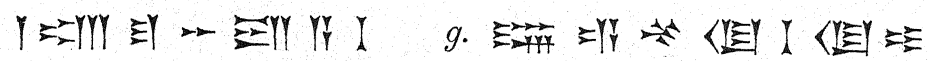
c. ṣi - ḫu a - na eli Um - ma - ḫal - da - a - su
a revolt against Ummanaldas



d. i - te - pu - us ul - tu Ḫu - ut - ḫu - ut *e.* a - di
has made. From the Huthut to



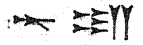
Ḫa - ai - da - nu it - ti su *f.* it - ta - si iz - zu
Haidanu with him he raised, strongly.

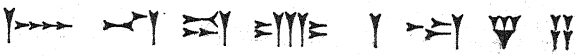


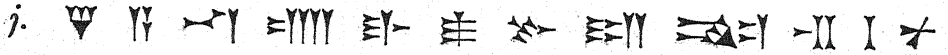
Um - ma - ḫal - da - a - su *g.* e - mu - ki su ki - i
Ummanaldas his forces then


u - paḥ - ḥir
gathered.

h. 
a - du - u ina eli nahr a - na
Now across the river in


tar - ṣi

i. 
a - ḥa - mis na - du - u Ba - sa - za
front of each other they are placed." Basaza

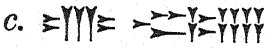
j. 
sa a - na e - kal as - pu - ra ḍe - en su - nu
whom to the palace I send, their news

k. 
ḥa - ri - iṣ ina e - kal liṣ - ha - al su
testifies; in the palace may he inquire of him.

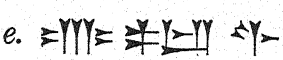
K, 2664 AND K, 3101. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VI, LINE 43, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 19.

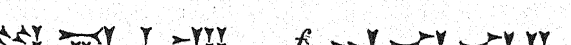
a. 
60 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru
Sixty kaspu of ground

b. 
ki - rib Elam
within Elam

c. 
u - saḥ - rib
I laid waste,

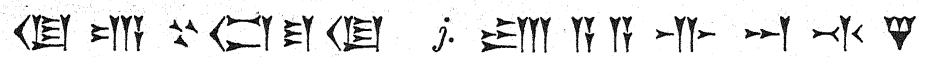
d. 
dab - u ebiltu ḫasasu
destruction, servitude and drought

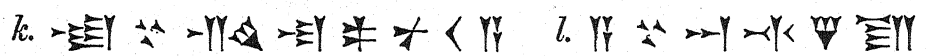
e. 
u - sap - pi - ḫa ẓir - us - su - un
I poured over them,

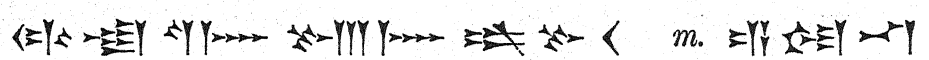
f. 
Na - na - a
Nana

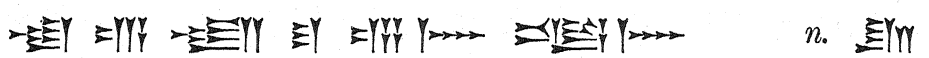
g. 
sa 1,535 sanat an - na - i
who 1,535 *years*

h. 
ṭa - aṣ - bu - ṣu (v. su) va tal - li - ku tu - si - bu
had been desecrated, had gone, and dwelt

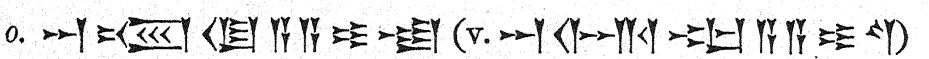

ki - rib Elam *j.* ta - ai - rat Ilu - ti sa
in *Elam.* *The return of her divinity*


k. tu -sat- gi - la pa-nu-u a *l.* a -mat Ilu- ti sa sa
she entrusted to me. *The will of her divinity, which*


ul - tu immi ruquti tag - bu -u *m.* e - nin - na
from days remote she had uttered; *again*

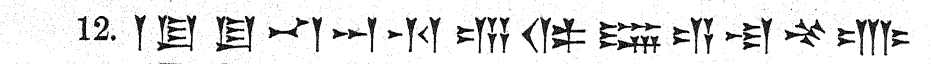

tu - kal - li -ma nisi arkuti *n.* qati
she spoke to later people. *The hands of*

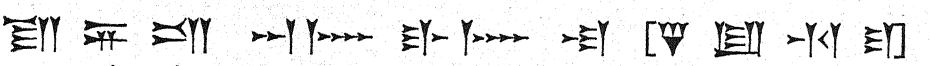

Na - na - a Uẓur - amat ṣa (v. U - ẓur - a - mat - ṣa)
Nana, *Uzuramatsa*

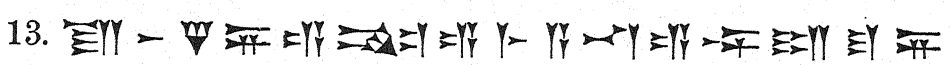

o. Ilu Arka - ai - i - tu Ilu ar - ka - ai - i - tu
the Erechite God,


at - mu - uḥ va, &c.
I took hold of, and, &c.

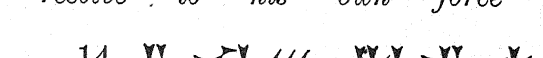
Extract from K, 2631.

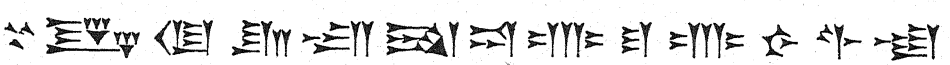

12. Ku-dur- na - an - ḫu - un - di E - la -mu- u
Kudurnanhundi *the* *Elamite*

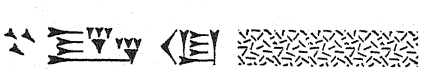

sa ni - is Ili rabati la [ip - lu - ḫu va]
who the worship of the great Gods did not [*fear*],

13. 
sa ina sa-ne-e ḍe-e-mi a-na e-muq ra-ma-ni
who in an evil resolve to his own force

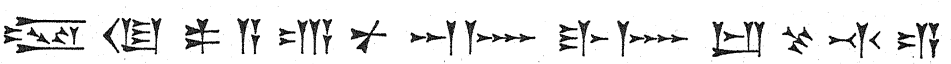
I 
su [it-ta-ki-lu]
[*trusted*]

14. 
a-na es-re-e-ti
on the temples of

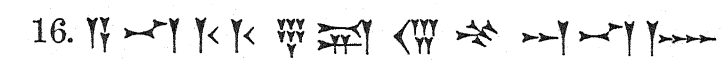

Akkad qat ṣu id-du-u va u-sal-pi-tu
Akkad his hands he had laid, and he oppressed


Akkad * * * *

15. 
immi im-lu-u
Akkad [Nana he carried off (?)], the days were full,

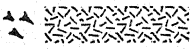

uk-ki-pa-a dan-nu Ili rabati ip-se-te-e
extinguished (?) was power, and the great Gods [these] things


* * * * *
[*saw*].

16. 
a-na 2 nir 7 sus 15 sanat an-na-i
For two ner seven sos and fifteen years


sapliti (?) E-la-mi * * * * * * ya-a-ti
under the Elamites [she remained. The great Gods] of me

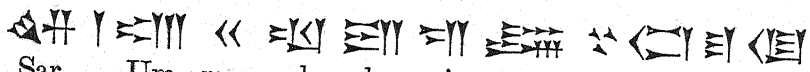

Assur-bani-pal rubu pa-laḥ su-un a-na ṣa-pa-aḥ
Assurbanipal the prince their worshipper, to overwhelm

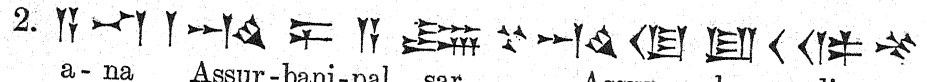

* * * *
[*Elam*]

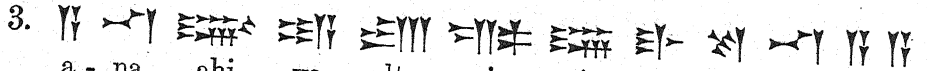
18. 
u-ma-hi-ir-u in-ni va kakki
they sent me, and soldiers

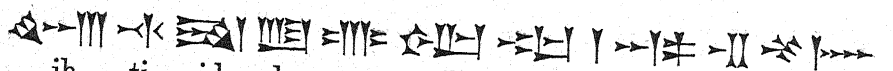

la pa * * * * * *
not * * * * * *

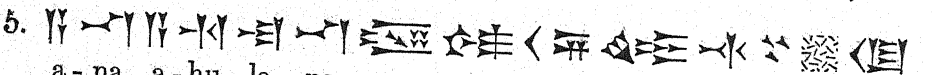
K, 359. LETTER FROM UMMANALDAS TO ASSURBANIPAL.

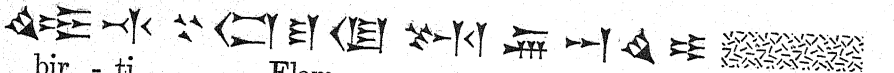
1. 
Sar Um-man-al-da-ṣi ṣar Elam
From *Ummanaldas* *king* *of* *Elam*

2. 
a-na Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur lu-u salim-mu
to *Assurbanipal* *king* *of* *Assyria.* *Peace*

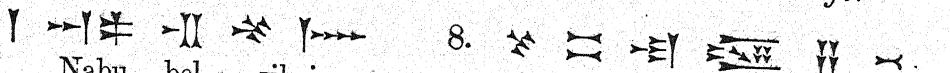
3. 
a-na aḫi ya ultu ris nis Mar-te-na-ai
to *my* *brother,* *from* *the* *first* *the* *Marteni*

4. 
iḫ-ti-iḍ-ḍu u-nik-ka Nabu-bel-zikri
had *sinned* *and* *fought (?)* *Nebobelzikri,*

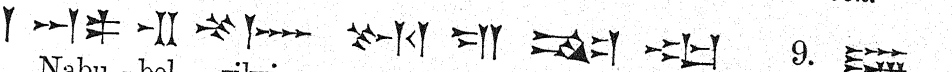
5. 
a-na a-ḫu-la na-aẓ ẓu-u-ni bir-ti * * *
to *get* *away,* *they* *were* *flying (?)* *by* *the* *border* * * *

6. 
bir-ti Elam uṣ-ṣa-an-ḫi-i * * *
the *border* *of* *Elam* * * * * * * * *

7. 
id-da-a-ti at-ta tas-sap-ra va-a
forces *do* *thou* *send,* *for*

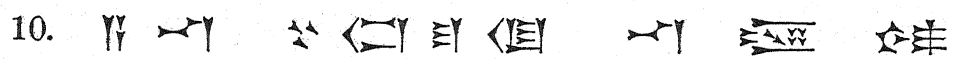

Nabu-bel-zikri
Nebobelzikri

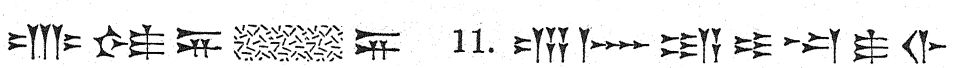
8.
se-bi-la aẓ-ẓa bat
to *surrender* *I* *took.*

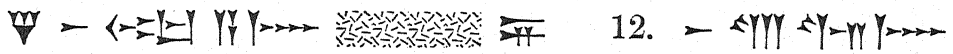

Nabu-bel-zikri uṣ-ṣi-bil ka
Nebobelzikri *I* *will* *surrender* *to* *thee.*

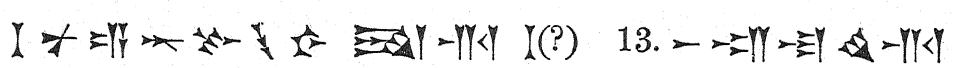
9.
nis
The

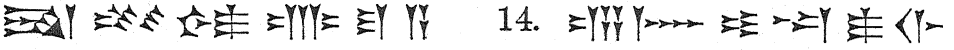

Mar - te - na - ai sa ultu ris Nabu - bel - zikri
Marteni who from the first Nebobelzikri

10. 
a - na Elam na - aẓ - ẓu
to Elam in flight

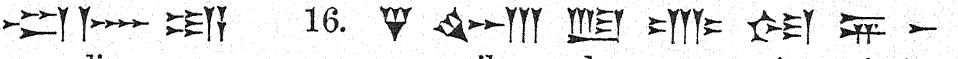

u - ẓu - ni * * * ni nisi ya i - ba - as - si
*fled * * * * my people being*

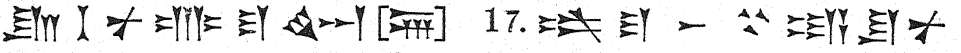

sa ina eli me * * * * ni ina lib uzni
*over against the water * * * * * into the interior of*


su-nu e -tar - bu * sal(?) id(?)- ri(?) su(?) ina La - ḥi - ri
*their ears entered the same * * * * in Lahiri*

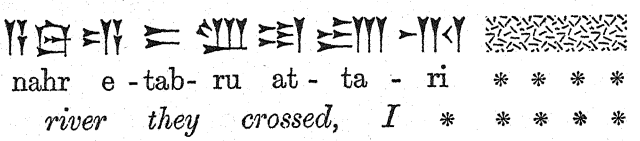

it - taḥ - ẓu - u va - a nisi i - ba - as - si
they urged. Now the people being


adi ta - ḥu - mi su-nu a - sap - par ina eli su-nu
in their neighbourhood I sent against them

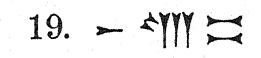

ardi ya sa iḥ - ḍu - u - nin - ni ina
my servants, who sinned against me in


qati su-nu u -ma- hi - [ir] sum - ma ina mati ya su - nu
their hands I placed; when in my country they


ana-ku ina qati su-nu u * * * * va sum - ma
*were I in their hands * * * * * * and when the*



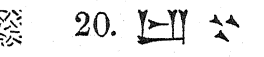
nahr e-tab-ru at-ta-ri * * * *
river they crossed, I * * * * *

19. 

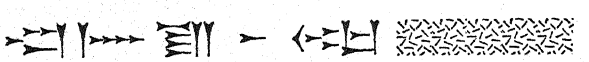
ina lib-bi
in the midst



su-nu ri-i-ba va ki-ma * * * * *
of them strife and * * * * * * *

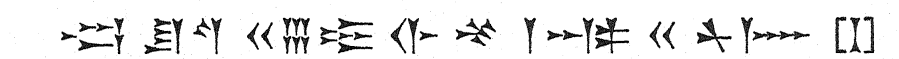
20. 

ip-sat
the work



ardi sa ina eli * * * * *
of the servants who against * * * * *

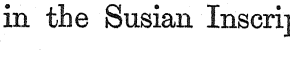
Date on Reverse.



araḫ immi 26 lim-mu Nabu-sar- ahi -[su]
Month 26th day eponym Nebosarahisu

The cause of the second war with Ummanaldas was probably the refusal of the Elamite king to deliver up the image of the Goddess Nana, which we are told (K, 1364) Assurbanipal sent to demand. This image, according to the various accounts, had been carried off by Kudur-nanḫundi, an early Elamite monarch, and had remained either 1635 or 1535 years in the hands of the Elamites; and therefore the date of Kudurnanḫundi must have been about B.C. 2280 or 2180. In this campaign, Assurbanipal completely conquered Elam, and destroyed the city of Shushan. It is very doubtful if the affair of Nebobelzikri, Cylinder A, col. vii, line 43, belongs in any sense to this division of the annals; for the other inscriptions mention the embassy to Elam to demand his surrender as being at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas. The letter of Ummanaldas on the subject is included in this division in illustration of Cylinder A.

The Ummanigas son of Amidirra is, I believe, the same as the Ummanigas son of Umbadara; but his revolt probably took place at the beginning of the reign of Ummanaldas.

The king Halludus, whose statue was carried away and mutilated, must have reigned during the last years of Sennacherib; the form Hallusi is another example of דש or תש becoming ס; the name is sometimes written in the Susian Inscriptions  Ḥal-lu-du-us.

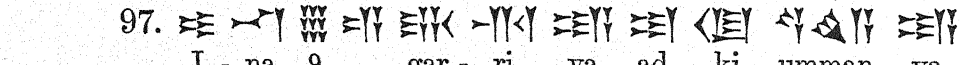
PART XII.

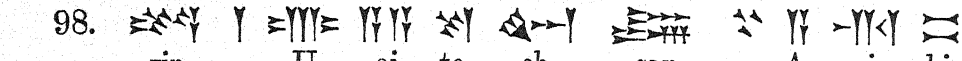
The Arabian War.

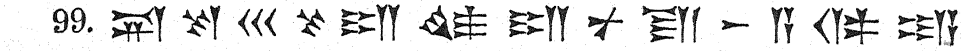
TEXTS.

The texts of the Arabian War are Cylinder A, col. vii, line 97, to col. ix, line 112; Cylinder B, col. vii, line 87, to col. viii, line 57; K, 2802; K, 3096; and K, 562.

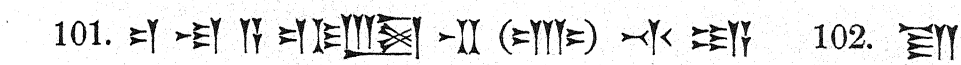
Cylinder A, Column VII, Line 97, to Column IX, Line 112.

97. 
I - na 9 gar - ri ya ad - ki umman ya
In my ninth expedition I gathered my army,

98. 
ṣir U - ai - te - eh ṣar A - ri - bi
against Vaiteh king of Arabia

99. 
us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu sa ina a - di - ya
I directed the march, who against my agreement

100. 
iḫ - ḍu - u ḍabtu e - pu - su - us la iṣ - ṣur - u va
had sinned; the benefits done to him he did not regard, and

101. 
iz - la - a niru bel - (u) - ti ya 102. sa
threw off the yoke of my dominion. When

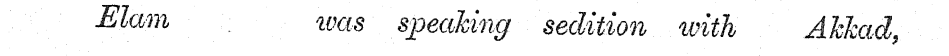

Assur e-mi-du-us (v. su) i-su-ḍu ab-sa-(a)-ni
Assur had set him up to perform my pleasure,

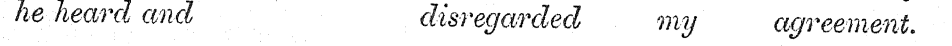

103. a-na sa-ha-al sul-mi (v. me) ya sepu su
to seek my alliance his feet


ip-ru-uṣ va 104. ik-la-a ta-mar-ti
broke off, and he ended his

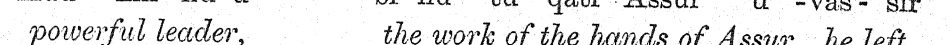

man-da-at-ta su ka-bit-tu (v. tu) 105. ki-i
presents and great tribute. When

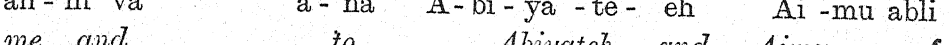

Elam da-bab ṣur-ra-a-ti Akkad
Elam was speaking sedition with Akkad,


is-mi va 106. la iẓ-ẓu-ra a-di-ya
he heard and disregarded my agreement.


ya-a-ti Assur-bani-pal 107. ṣar sangu ellu re-e-su
Of me Assurbanipal, the king, the noble priest, the


mud-nin-nu-u 108. bi-nu-tu qati Assur u-vas-sir
powerful leader, the work of the hands of Assur, he left

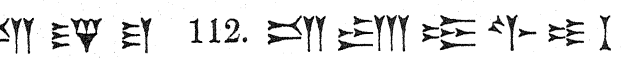

an-ni va 109. a-na A-bi-ya-te-eh Ai-mu abli
me, and to Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of


Te-ha-ri 110. e-mu-ki it-ti su-nu-ti a-na
Tehari, his forces with them to

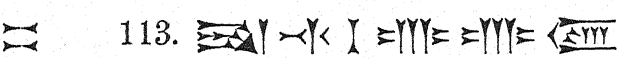

ri - ẓu - ti
the help of

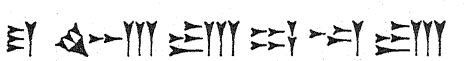
111. 
Saul - mu - gi - na
Saulmugina

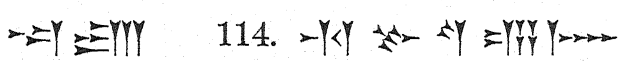

aḫi nak - ri is - pur va
my rebellious brother he sent, and

112. 
is - ta - kan pi - i su
set his face.

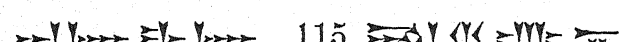

nisi A- ri - bi
The people of Arabia

113. 
it - ti su u - sam - kir
with him he caused to revolt,

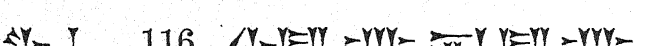

va iḫ - ta - nab - ba - ta
and carried away the

114. 
ḫu - bu - ut nisi
plunder of the people


sa Assur Istar va Ili rabati
whom Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods

115. 
id - din - u - ni
had given me,


riu - ṣi - na e - pi - su
their government I had ruled,

116. 
va u - mal - lu - u
and they were in


qa - tu - u a
my hand.

117. 
ina ki - bit Assur va Istar
By command of Assur and Ishtar


umman ya ina gi - ra - a
my army in the region of

118. 
A - za - ar - an
Azaran,

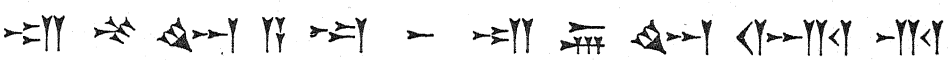

Ḫi - ra - ta - a - qa - za - ai
Hirataqaza,

119. 
ina U - du - mi ina
in Edom, in the


ni - rib Ya - ab - ru - du
neighbourhood of Yabrud,

120. 
ina Bit - am - ma - ni
in Beth Ammon,

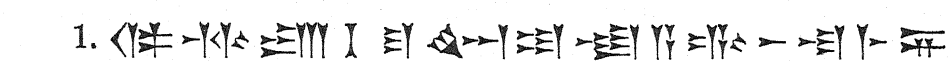

ina na - ge - e sa Ḥa - u - ri - na ina 121.
in the district of the Hauran, in

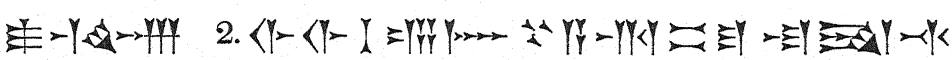

Mu - ha - a - ba ina Ṣa - ha - ar - ri
Moab, in Saharri,


122. ina Ḥa - ar - ge - e ina na - ge - e sa
in Harge, in the district of

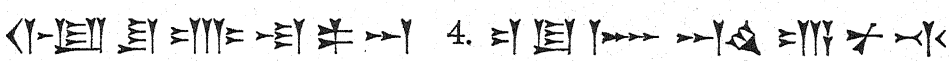

Ẓu - bi - te
Zobah.

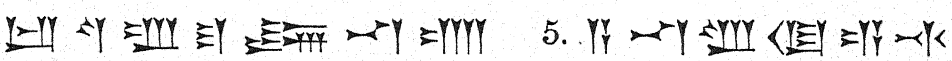
Column VIII.

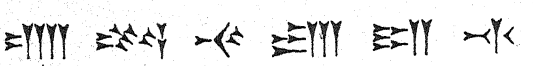

1. di - ik - ta su ma - ha - at - tu a-duk ina la mi - ni
His numerous fighting men I slew without number,


as - kun abikta su nisi A - ri - bi ma - la it - ti
I accomplished his overthrow. The people of Arabia, all who with


su it bu - u - ni u - ra - (aṣ -) ṣib ina kakki
him came, I destroyed with the sword;


va su - u la pa - an kakki Assur dan-nu - ti
and he from the face of the powerful soldiers of Assur,


ip - par - sid va in - na - bit a - na ru - ke - e - ti
fled and got away to a distance.



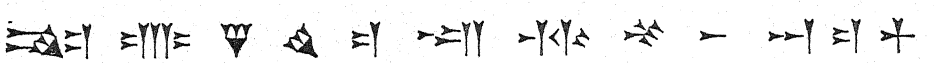
bit - ṣin zir - ta - ra - ti

The tents, the pavilions,

6. 

mu - sa - bi su - nu

their dwellings,



kamu u - sa - ḥi - iz - zu ik - mu ina isati

a fire they raised, and burned in the flames.

7. 

U - ai - te - eh ma - ru - us - tu im - har su va

Vaiteh, misfortune happened to him, and

8. 

e - dis - si su in - na - bit a - na Na - ba - ai - ti

alone he fled to Nabatea.

9. 

U - ai - te - eh ablu Ḥa - za - il aḫu abi

Vaiteh son of Hazail, brother of the father

10. 

sa U - ai - te - eh ablu Bir - vul [sa

of Vaiteh son of Birvul, who



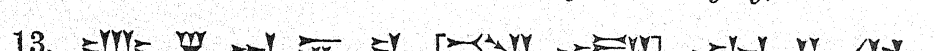
ra] - man su is - ku - nu a - na ṣaru - ti A - ri - bi

himself appointed to the kingdom of Arabia;

12. 

Assur ṣar [Ili] sad - u rabu - u ḍe - [e - mu]

Assur king of the Gods the strong and mighty, a decree

13. 

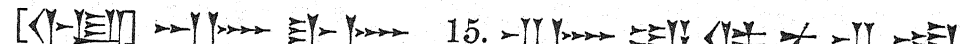
u - sa - an - ni va [il - li] - ka a - di

repeated, and he came to

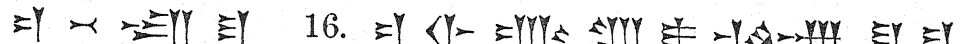


maḫ - ri ya a - na kul - lu ta - us - ti Assur

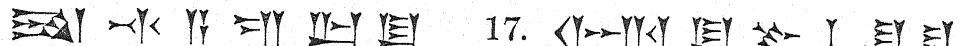
my presence. To satisfy the law of Assur



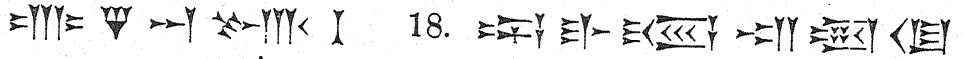
[va] Ili rabati 15. beli - ya de -nu kap- tu
and the great Gods *my lords, a heavy judgment*



iṣ -bat ṣu va 16. si - ga - ru as - kun su va
took him, and *in chains I placed him, and*



it - ti a - ṣi kalbi 17. ar - ku - bu - su su va
with asi and dogs *I bound him, and*



u - sa - an - ẓir su 18. babi rabi qabal Ninua
caused him to be kept in the *great gate in the midst of Nineveh*



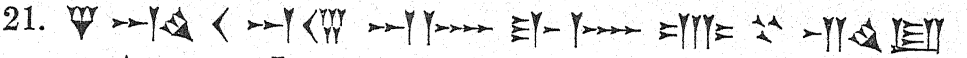
Ni - rib bar - nak - ti ad - na - a - ti 19. va su - u
Nirib-barnakti-adnati *And he*



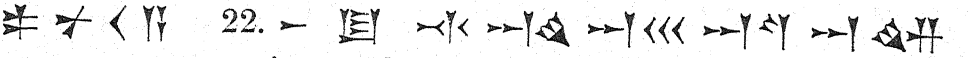
Am - mu - la - di ṣar Ki - id - ri 20. it - tu - bil
Ammuladi king of Kedar, *brought*



a - na mit- ḫu - (uẓ) - ẓi ṣarri Ḫatti
to fight the kings of Syria,



sa Assur va Istar Ili rabati u -sat- gi - lu
whom Assur and Ishtar the great Gods had entrusted



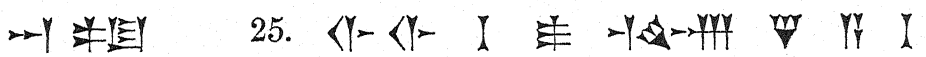
pa - nu - u a 22. ina tugul - ti Assur Sin Samas Vul
to me. *In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,*



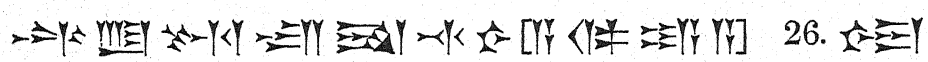
Bel Nabu 23. Istar sa Ninua Il ṣar - rat
Bel, Nebo, *Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of*



Kit-mu- ri 24. Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal
Kitmuri, *Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal*



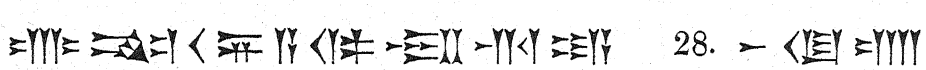
Nusku 25. abikta su as - kun sa - a - su
and Nusku, *his overthrow I accomplished. Himself*



bal - ḍu - uṣ - ṣu it - ti [A - di - ya - a] 26. allat
alive *with* *[Adiya]* *the wife of*



U - ai - te - eh ṣar A - ri - bi 27. iẓ - ba - tu - niv - va
Vaiteh *king of* *Arabia,* *they captured and*



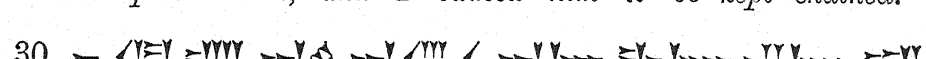
u - bil - u - ni a - di maḥ - ri ya 28. ina ki - bit
brought *to* *my* *presence.* *By command*



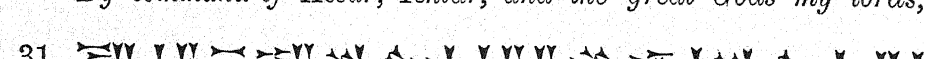
Ili rabati beli ya ul - li kalbi
of the great Gods my lords, with the dogs



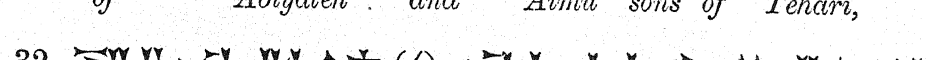
as - kun su va u - sa - an - ẓir su si - ga - ru
I placed him, and I caused him to be kept chained.



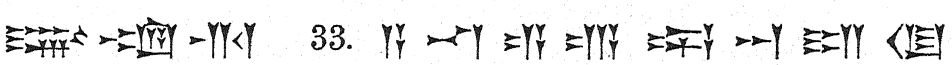
ina ki - bit Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya
By command of Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,

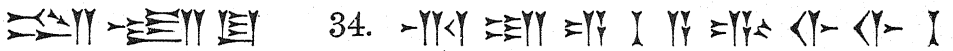


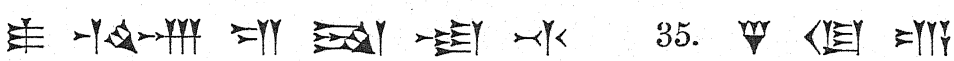
sa A-bi - ya - te - eh Ai - mu abli Te- he - ri
of *Abiyateh* *and* *Aimu sons of Tehari,*



sa a - na ri - ẓu - (u)- tu Saul - mu- gi - na
who *to* *the* *help* *of* *Saulmugina*

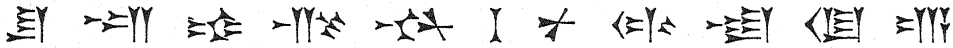

aḫi nak - ri 33. a - na e - rib Bab - ili
my rebellious brother *to enter* *Babylon*

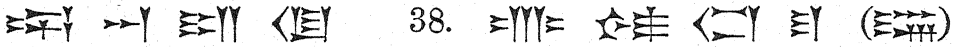

il - li -ku 34. ri - ẓe - e su a - duk abikta su
went; *his helpers I slew, his overthrow*

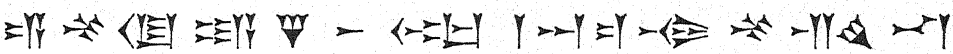

as - kun ṣi - it - tu - ti 35. sa ki - rib
I accomplished. *The remainder* *who* *into*


Bab - ili e - ru - bu ina ṣu - un - ki
Babylon *entered,* *in* *want* *and*

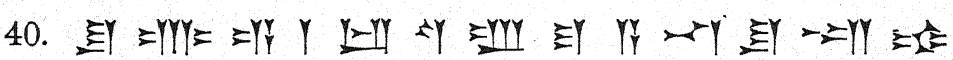

ḫu - suḫ - ḫi e - ku - lu ṣeri a - ḫa - mis 37. a - na
hunger *eat the flesh of each other.* *To*

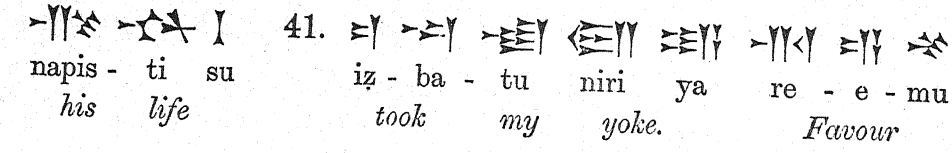

su - zu - ub napis - ti su - nu ul - tu ki - rib
save *their* *lives,* *from* *the* *midst* *of*


Bab - ili 38. u - ẓu - niv - va
Babylon *they came out, and*

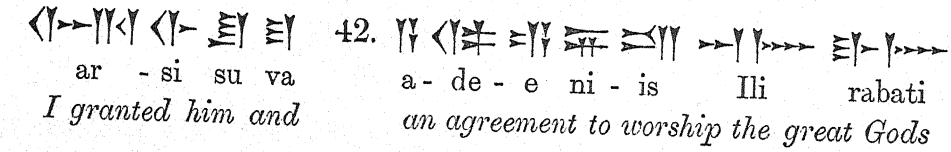

e - mu - ki ya sa ina eli Saul - mu - gi - na
my *forces* *which* *around* *Saulmugina*


sak - nu sa - ni - (ya) - a - nu abikta su is - ku - nu va
were placed, a second time his overthrow accomplished; and

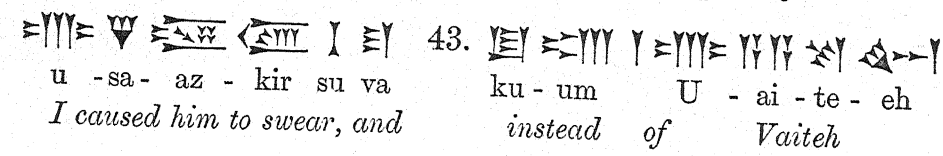

su - u e - dis ip - par - sid va a - na su - zu - ub
he *alone* *fled,* *and* *to* *save*



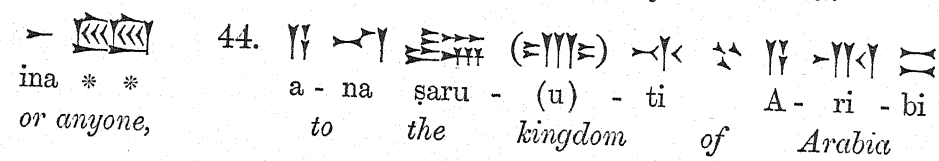
napis - ti su 41. iẓ - ba - tu niri ya re - e - mu
his life *took my yoke.* *Favour*



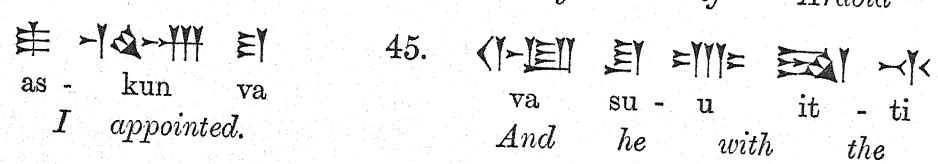
ar - si su va 42. a - de - e ni - is Ili rabati
I granted him and *an agreement to worship the great Gods*



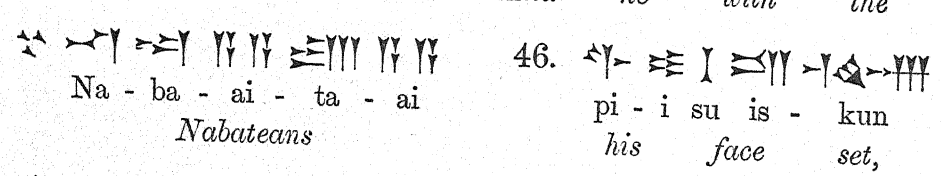
u - sa - az - kir su va 43. ku - um U - ai - te - eh
I caused him to swear, and *instead of Vaiteh*



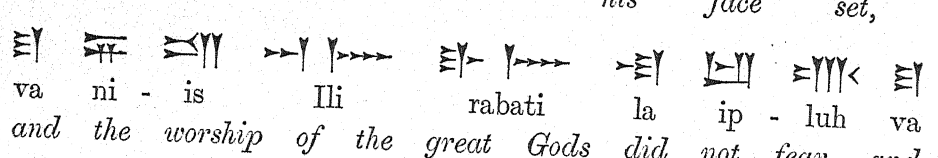
ina * * 44. a - na ṣaru - (u) - ti A - ri - bi
or anyone, *to the kingdom of Arabia*



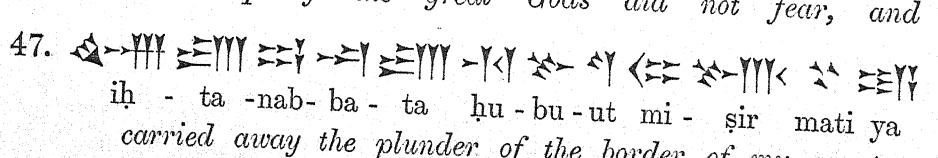
as - kun va 45. va su - u it - ti
I appointed. *And he with the*



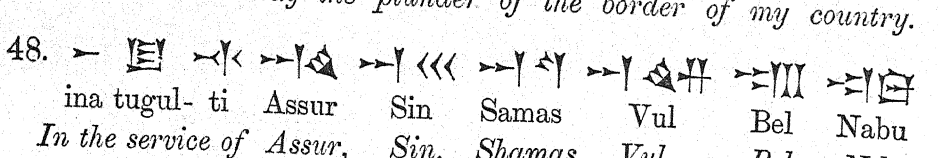
Na - ba - ai - ta - ai 46. pi - i su is - kun
Nabateans *his face set,*



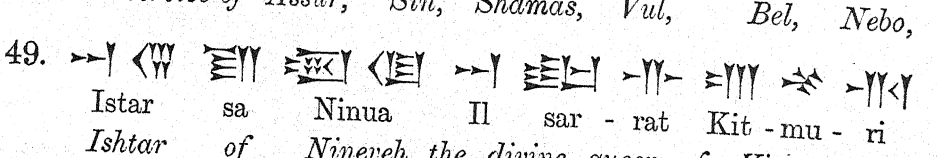
va ni - is Ili rabati la ip - luh va
and the worship of the great Gods did not fear, and



47. iḥ - ta - nab - ba - ta ḥu - bu - ut mi - ṣir mati ya
carried away the plunder of the border of my country.



48. ina tugul - ti Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,



49. Istar sa Ninua Il sar - rat Kit - mu - ri
Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,



50. Istar sa Arba-il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,



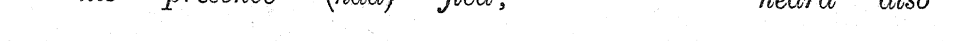
51. Na-ad-nu ṣar Na-ba-ai-ti sa a-sar su
Nathan king of Nabatea, whose place was



ru-u-qu 52. sa U-ai-te-eh a-na
remote, of whom, Vaiteh to



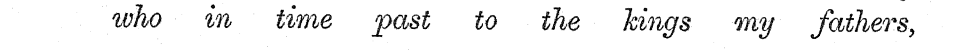
maḥ-ri su in-nab-tu (v. ta) 53. is-me-e va
his presence (had) fled; heard also



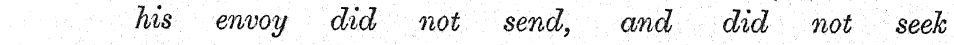
da-na-an Assur sa u-tag-gil an (v. a)-ni
of the power of Assur who protected me:



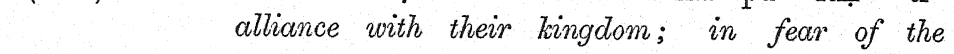
54. sa ma-te (v. ti)-e ma a-na ṣarri abi ya
who in time past to the kings my fathers,



55. a-mir su la is-pu-ra la is-(ha)-a-lu
his envoy did not send, and did not seek



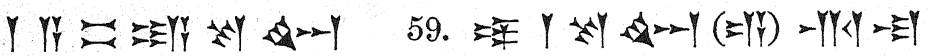
(v. lū) su-lum ṣaru-ti su-un ina pu-luḥ-ti
alliance with their kingdom; in fear of the



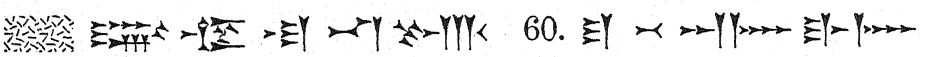
kakki Assur 57. ka-si-du-ti * * * *
*soldiers of Assur capturing * * * *



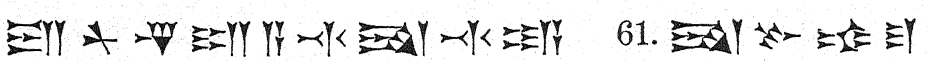
ba-qa-av-va is-ha-a-la 58. su-lum ṣaru-ti ya
he tore and sought alliance with my kingdom.



A-bi-ya-te-eh ablu Te-he-(e)-ri la
Abiyateh *son of* *Teheri* *did not*



* * * * ḍabtu la na-ṣir ma-mit Ili rabati
* * * *benefits, disregarding the* *oath of the great Gods,*



da-bab ṣur-ra-a-ti it-ti ya id-bu-ub va
seditious *words* *against* *me* *he spoke, and*



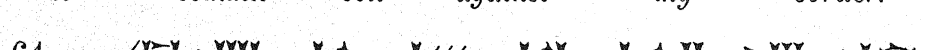
pi-i su it-ti Na-ad-ni ṣar Na-ba-ai-ti
his *face* *with* *Nathan* *king of* *Nabatea*



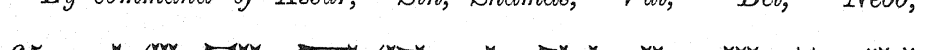
is-kun va e-mu-ki su-nu id-ku-u-ni
he *set;* *and* *their* *forces* *they gathered*



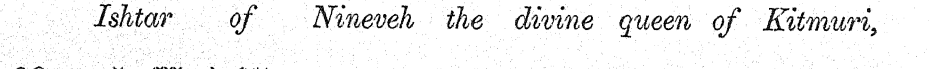
a-na ti-ib limut a-na me-ṣir ya
to *commit* *evil* *against* *my* *border.*



ina ki-bit Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
By command of *Assur,* *Sin,* *Shamas,* *Vul,* *Bel,* *Nebo,*



Istar sa Ninua Il sar-rat Kit-mu-ri
Ishtar *of* *Nineveh* *the* *divine* *queen of* *Kitmuri,*



Istar sa Arba-il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar *of* *Arbela,* *Ninip,* *Nergal and* *Nusku,*

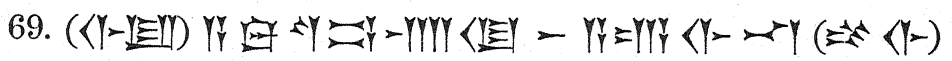


umman ya ad-ki ṣir A-bi-ya-te-eh
my *army* *I* *gathered;* *against* *Abiyateh*

68. 

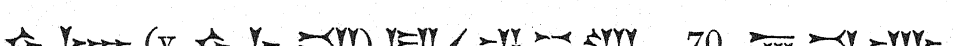
us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu Idikkal

I directed the march. The Tigris

69. 

(va) Purat ina meli si - na (gab - si)

and the Euphrates in their flood (strong)



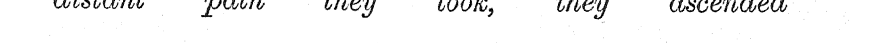
sal - mis (v. sal - mi - is) lu - u e - bi - ru 70. ir - du - u

peacefully they crossed, they marched,



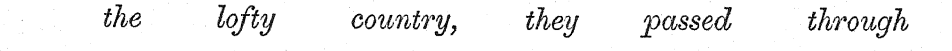
ur - ḫi ru - qu - u - ti e - be - lu e - te - [lu]

a distant path they took, they ascended

71. 

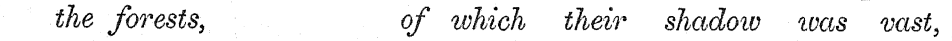
ḫar - sa - a - ni sa - qu - ti iḫ - tal - lu - bu

the lofty country, they passed through



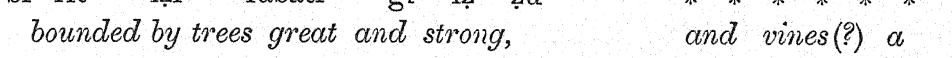
kisti 72. sa ṣu - lul si - na rap - su

the forests, of which their shadow was vast,



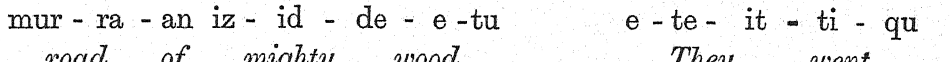
bi - rit iṣi rabati gi - iṣ - ṣu * * * * * *

bounded by trees great and strong, and vines(?) a



mur - ra - an iz - id - de - e - tu e - te - it - ti - qu

road of mighty wood. They went



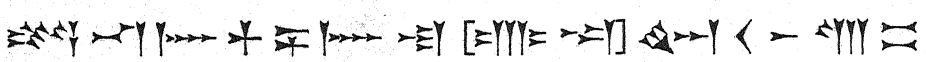
ana nakiri Vas a - sar ṣu - um - mi dan - dan - ti

to the rebels of Vas, a place arid and very difficult,

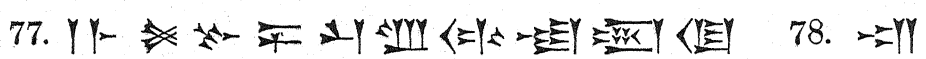


sa iṣṣur same la * * * * * * imiri

*where the bird of heaven had not * * * * * * wild*



ṣini la [u - ba] - ḫu - u ina lib - bi
asses *they found not in it.*



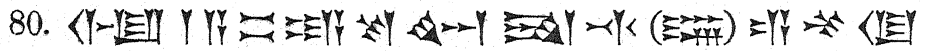
77. 100 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru ul - tu Ninua 78. alu
100 *kaspu of ground, from Nineveh the city*



na - ram Is - tar ḫi - rat Bel 79. ṣir
the delight of Ishtar, wife of Bel; against



(v. arku) U - ai - te - eh ṣar A - ri - bi
(v. *after*) *Vaiteh king of Arabia*



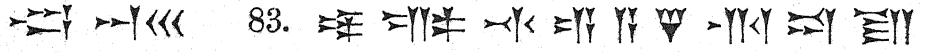
va A - bi - ya - te - eh it - ti e - mu - ki
and Abiyateh with the forces



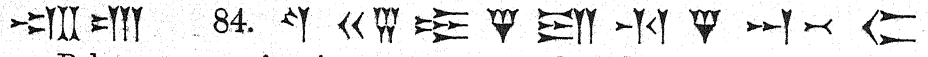
81. (v.) Na - ba - ai - ta - ai il - li - ka
of the Nabateans, they went.



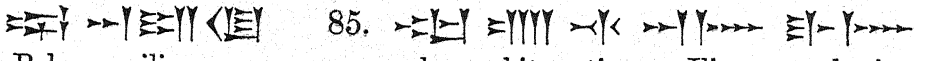
(v. ku) 82. ir - du - u il - li - ku ina araḫ Ṣivanu
They marched and went in the month Sivan,



araḫ Sin 83. ablu ris - te - e a - sa - ri - du sa
the month of Sin the eldest son and first of

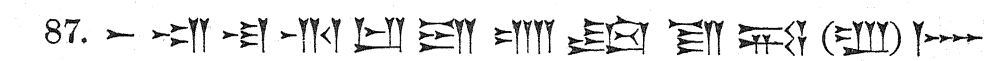


Bel 84. immi 25 sa da - ḫu sa be - lat
Bel, the twenty-seventh day, on the festival of the lady of



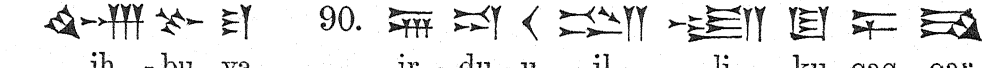
Bab - ili 85. ka - bit - ti Ili rabati
Babylon, the mighty one of the great Gods.

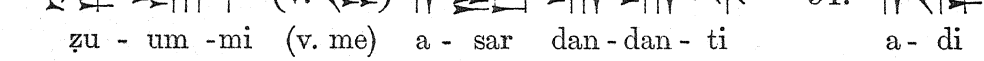

86. ul - tu (v. ultu) Ḫa- da - at - ta - a at - tu - zir
From *Hadatta* *I* *departed;*

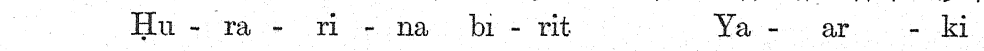

87. ina La - ri - ib - da bit - dur sa abni
in *Laribda* *a* *tower* *of* *stones,*

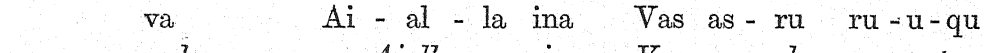

88. ina eli gu - ub - ba - a - ni sa me at - ta - di
over *against* *lakes* *of* *water;* *I* *pitched*

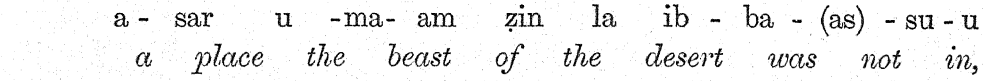

us -man- ni 89. umman ya me a - na mas- ti - ti su-nu
my camp. *My* *army* *the* *waters* *for* *their* *drink*

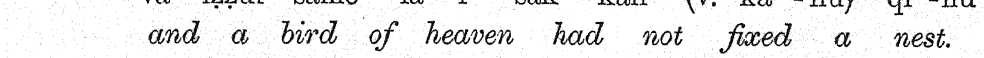

iḫ - bu va 90. ir - du - u il - li - ku qaq - qar
desired, *and* *they* *marched* *and* *went* *over*

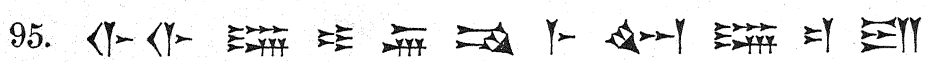

ẓu - um -mi (v. me) a - sar dan - dan - ti 91. a- di
arid *ground,* *a* *place* *very* *difficult,* *to*


Ḫu - ra - ri - na bi - rit Ya - ar - ki
Hurarina *near* *Yarki,*


92. va Ai - al - la ina Vas as - ru ru - u - qu
and *Aialla* *in* *Vas,* *a* *place* *remote,*


93. a - sar u -ma- am ẓin la ib - ba - (as) - su - u
a *place* *the* *beast* *of* *the* *desert* *was* *not* *in,*

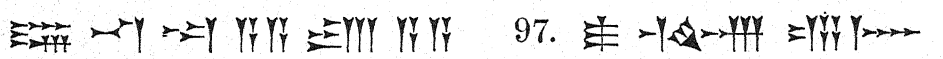

94. va iẓẓur same la i - sak - kan (v. ka - nu) qi - nu
and *a* *bird* *of* *heaven* *had* *not* *fixed* *a* *nest.*



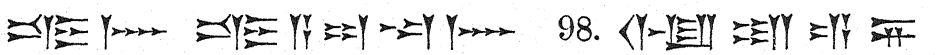
95. abikta I - ṣa - am - mi - ih halu(?)
The overthrow of the Isammih, the servants



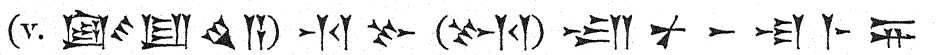
96. sa A - tar - ṣa - ma - ai - in va (v. va)
of Adarsamain, and the



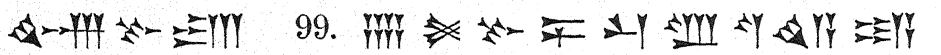
Na - ba - ai - ta - ai 97. as - kun nisi
Nabateans I accomplished. People,



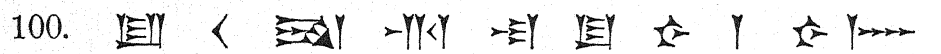
imiri gammali 98. va ẓe - e - ni
asses, camels, and sheep,



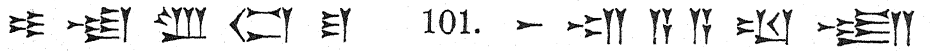
(v. zeni) ḥu - bu - (uṣ-) ṣu - nu ina la mi - ni
their plunder innumerable;



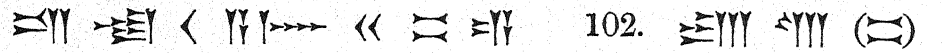
aḥ - bu - ta 99. 8 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru umman ya
I carried away. Eight kaspu of ground my army



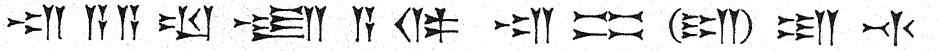
100. lu - u it - tal - la - ku sal - dis sal - mis
marched victoriously, peacefully



i - tu - ru - niv - va 101. ina Ai - al - li
they returned, and in Aialli



is - tu - u me sar - be - e 102. ultu lib - (bi)
they drank abundant waters; from the midst of



Ai - al - li a - di Qu - (ra) - ẓi - ti
Aialli to Quraziti.

103. 

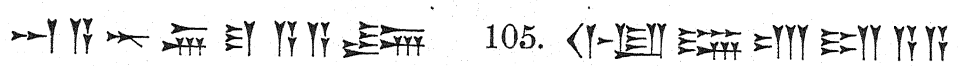
6 kas-pu qaq-qa-ru a-sar ṣu-um-mi dan-dan-ti

six kaspu of ground, a place arid and very difficult,

104. 

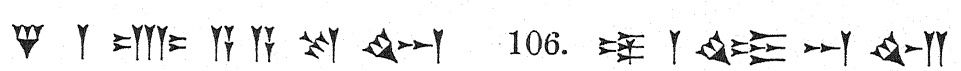
ir-du-u il-li-ku ha-lu sa

they marched and went The worshippers (?) of



A-tar-ṣa-ma-ai-in va Kid-ra-ai

Adarsamain, and the Kidri



U-ai-te-eh ablu Bir-vul

of Vaiteh, son of Birvul



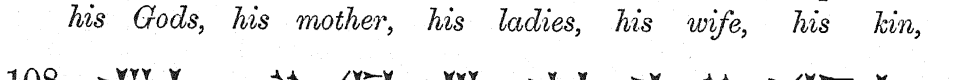
(v. Bir-da-ad-da) ṣar A-ri-bi al-mi

(v. *Birdadda*) *king of Arabia, I besieged;*

107. 

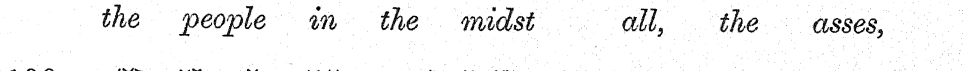
Ili su ummu su hirati su allat ṣu qi-nu su

his Gods, his mother, his ladies, his wife, his kin,

108. 

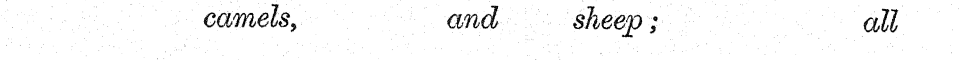
nisi mati ki-rib ka-la-mu imiri

the people in the midst all, the asses,

109. 

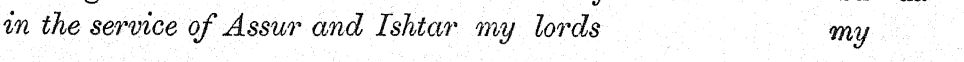
gammali va ṣe-e-ni 110. ma-la

camels, and sheep; all



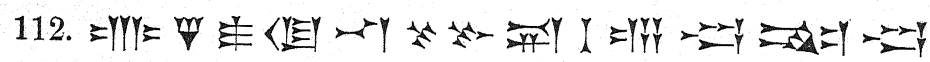
ina tugul-ti Assur va Istar beli ya 111. ik-su-da

in the service of Assur and Ishtar my lords my



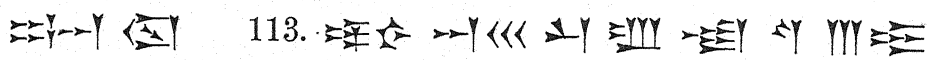
qata ai mur-ra-an Di-mas-qa

hands took. The road to Damascus



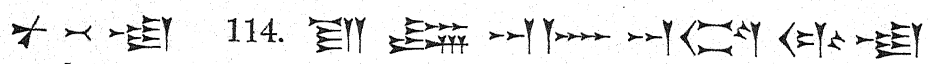
u -sa-as- ki - na se-pu- us -su-un araḥ Abu araḥ

I caused their feet to take. In the month Ab, the month



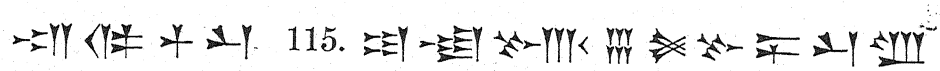
kakab bam bintu sin qa - sit - tu immi 3

of Sagittarius daughter of Sin, the archer; the third day,



nu-be- tu sa ṣar Ili Maruduk ul - tu

the festival of the king of the Gods, Merodach, from



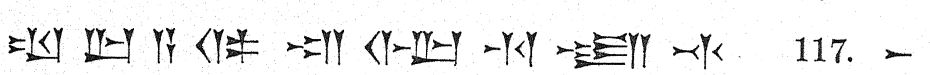
Di -mas-qa at- tu - zir 6 kas-pu qaq-qa- ru

Damascus I departed. Six kaspu of ground



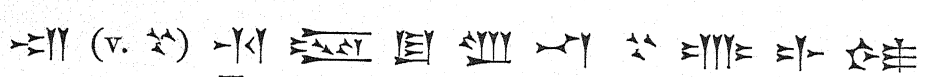
ina mati si - na ka - la sa ar - de - e va

in their country all of it I marched, and



al - lik a - di Ḥul - ḥu - li - ti ina

went to Hulhuliti. In



Ḥu - uk -ku - ru - na sad- u mar- zu

Hukkuruna, the rugged mountain,



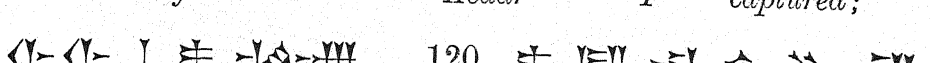
ha - lu sa A - bi - ya - te - eh ablu

the servants of Abiyateh son of



Te- ha - ri Kid- ra - ai ak - su - ud (v. sud)

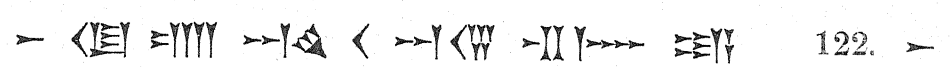
Tehari of Kedar I captured;

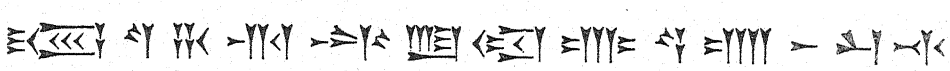


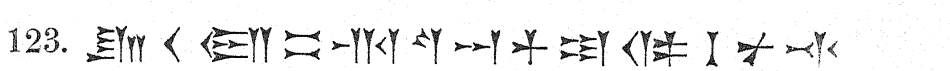
abikta su as - kun as - lu - la sal - lat ṣu

his overthrow I accomplished, I carried off his spoil.


A-bi-ya-te-eh Ai-mu 121. abli Te-ha-ri
Abiyateh and Aimu, *sons of Tehari,*


ina ki-bit Assur va Istar beli ya 122. ina
by command of Assur and Ishtar my lords, *in the*

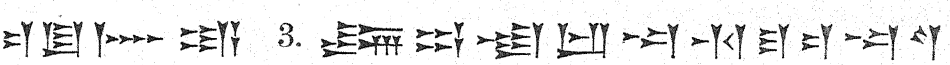

qabal tam-ḫa-ri bal-ḍu-ṣun u-ẓab-bit ina qa-ti
midst of battle alive I captured in hand.

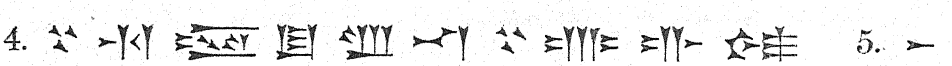

123. qati va sepi bi-ri-tu parzil ad-di su-nu-ti
Hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed them,

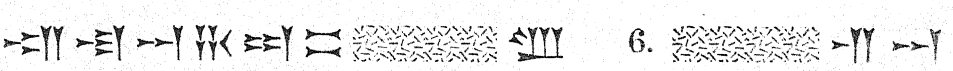
Column IX.


1. it-ti sal-lat mati su-un al-qa-as-su-nu-ti
With the spoil of their country I brought them


2. a-na Assur mun-nab-ti sa la pa-an
to Assyria. The fugitives, who from the face of


kakki ya 3. in-nab-tu ib-ba-ḫu va iẓ-ba-tu
my soldiers *fled, ascended (?) and took to*

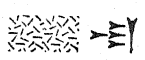

4. Ḫu-uk-ku-ru-na sad-u mar-ẓu 5. ina
Hukkuruna the rugged mountain. In

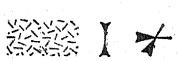

La-an-ḫa-ab-bi * * * * ru 6. * * * * * an
Laanhabbi * * * * * * * * * *

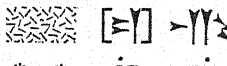
Lines 7 to 25 are lost, only the following ends of eight lines remain :—

a. 
* * u
* * *

b. 
* * u va
* * * *and*

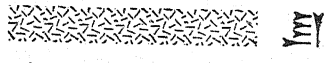
c. 
* * la
* * *

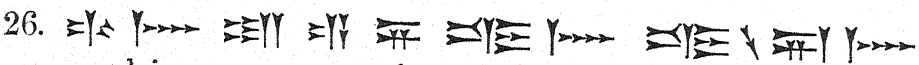
d. 
* * su - nu
* * *them*

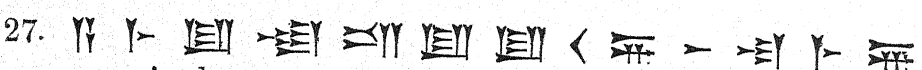
e. 
* * iz - zi - tu
* * *strong*

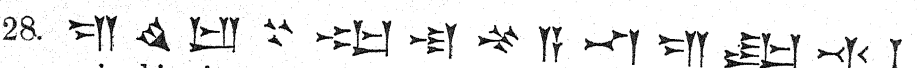
f. 
* * gammali
* * *camels*

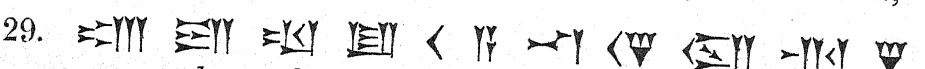
g. 
* * * * * * qu
* * * * * * *

h. 
* * * * * * su
* * * * * * *

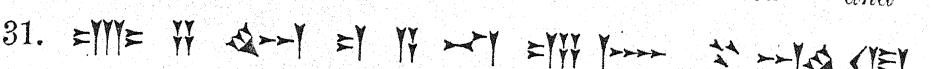
26. 
alpi ṣe - e - ni imiri gammali
oxen, sheep, asses, camels

27. 
a - mi - lu - tu is - lu - lu - u - ni ina la mi - ni
and men, they carried off without number.

28. 
ṣi - ḫi - ip matu ka - la - mu a - na ṣi - ḫir - ti su
The sweeping of all the country through its extent,

29. 
um - da - al - lu - u a - na pat gim - ri sa
they collected through the whole of it.

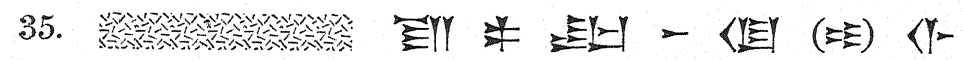
30. 
gam - mal - i kima ṣe - e - ni u - par - ri - iz
Camels like sheep, I distributed and

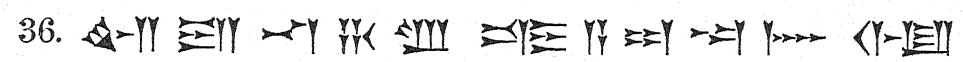
31. 
u - za - hi - iz a - na nisi Assur
caused to overflow to the people of Assyria


32. qa - bal - ti mati ya gammal 33. ½ * *
dwelling in my country. *A camel* *for half a shekel,*


ina ½ * * kas - pi i - sam - mu ina bab ma - ḥi - ri
in half shekels of silver, they valued in front of the gate;

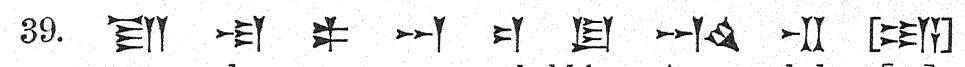

34. ṣu -ud-mu ina ni - id - ni nakmi(?) ina ḥa - be - e
the spoil(?) in the sale of captives among the strong


35. * * * * * * sa pa - ḥir ina ki - (i) - si
* * * * * * *which were gathered in droves,*

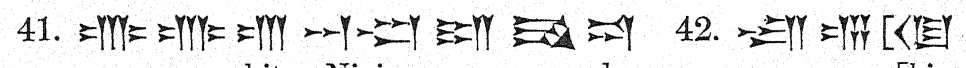

36. im - da - na - ḥa - ru gammali va
they bartered *camels* *and*

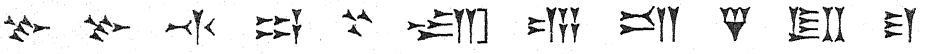

a - mi - lu - tu 37. U - ai - te - eh a - di
men. *Vaiteh* *and the*


A- ri - bi 38. sa a - di - ya * * * * * *
Arabians, *who my agreement* * * * * * *

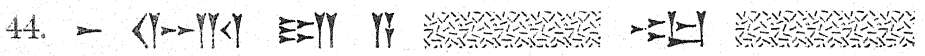

39. sa la pa - an kakki Assur bel [ya]
who from the face of the soldiers of Assur [my] lord,

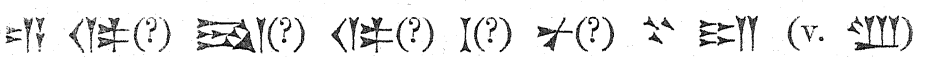

40. ip - par - si - [du] va in - nab - tu - ni
fled *and* *got* *away;*

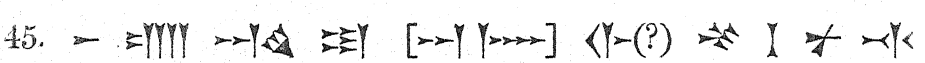

41. u - sam - kit Ninip qar - du 42. ṣu - un - [ki
Ninip the warrior destroyed, *in want*

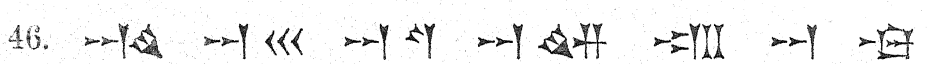

bu - bu - ti nap - sat ṣu] - un is - sa - kin va
[and famine their lives] were spent, and

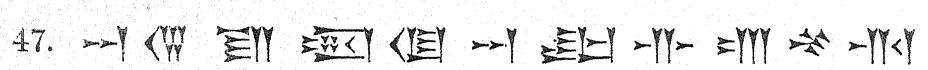
43. 
a - na bu - ri [su-nu e - ku] - lu ṣeri mari su-nu
for their food they eat the flesh of their children.

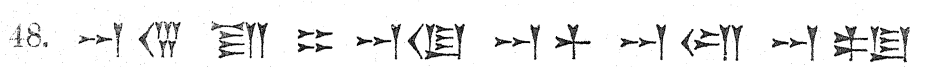
44. 
ina ar - ra - a * * * * * * * * *
*With a curse(?) * * * * * * * * *

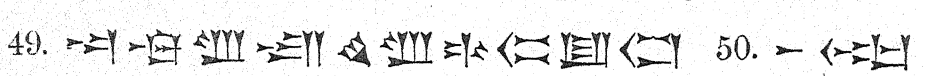

e - di - id - di su - nu gagara (v. ru?)
* * * * * * * * * *them* * * * * *

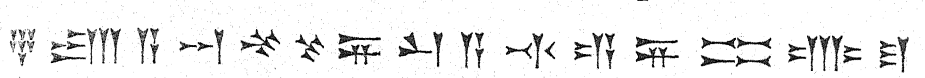
45. 
ina bit Assur abu [Ili] lim(?) mu su - nu - ti
in the house of Assur father of [the Gods] * * * *them*

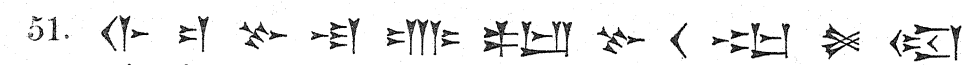
46. 
Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu
Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

47. 
Istar sa Ninua Il ṣar - rat Kit - mu - ri
Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

48. 
Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, Nusku,

49. 
ba - ak - ru ṣu - ḫi - ru alpu ṣēnu ina eli
camels(?) strong, oxen and sheep, more than

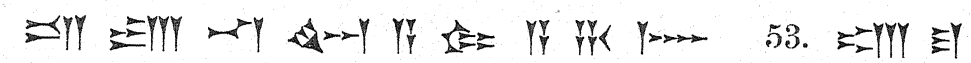

7 ta - a - an mu - se - ni - qa - a - ti e - ni - qu - u va
seven the sacrificers sacrificed, and



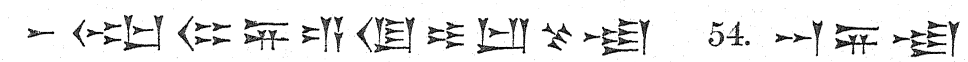
si - iṣ - pu la u - ṣap - pu - u ka - raṣ ṣun
for eating they did not eat their carcasses.



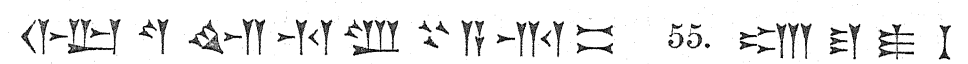
nisi A - ri - bi edin a - na edin
The people of Arabia one to another,



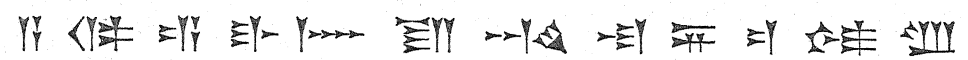
is - ta - na - ha - a - lū a - ḥa - mis um - ma
addressed each other thus:



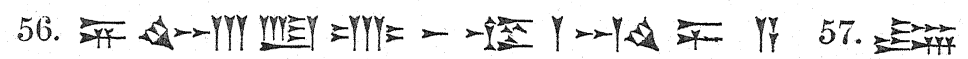
ina eli me - ne - e ki - i ip -se- tu an - ni - tu
"Concerning the number of these evil things,



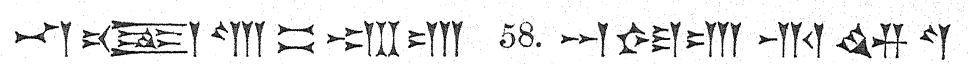
limut - tu im - ḫu - ru A- ri - bi um -ma as -su
which happened to Arabia, because



a - de - e rabati sa Assur la ni - iz - ẓu - ru
the great agreements with Assur we have not regarded;



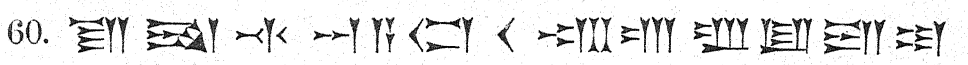
ni - iḫ - ḍu - u ina ḍabtu Assur - bani - pal ṣar
and we have sinned against the benefits of Assurbanipal, the king,



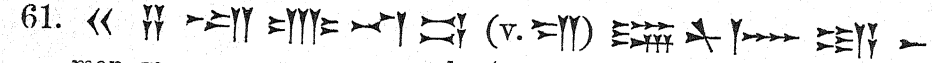
na - ram lib - bi Bel Belat ri - im - tu
the delight of the heart of Bel." Beltis the consort of

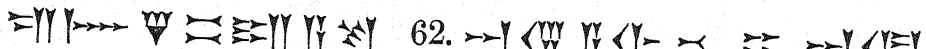


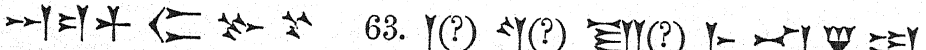
Bel - i - ti ka - dir - ti i - la - a - ti
Bel, the guardian of divinity;

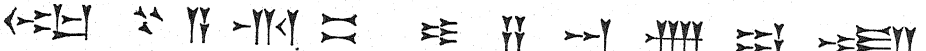


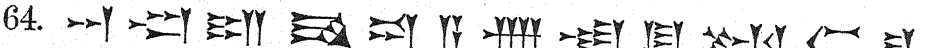
sa it - ti A- nu va Bel sit - lu - du - at
who with Anu and Bel in dominion

61. 
man-za- zu u - na -qab (v. qab?) nakiri ya ina
is established: pierced *my enemies with*

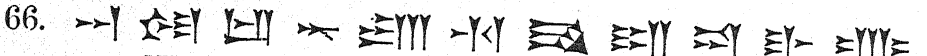

garni sa bi- ra -a- te 62. Istar ,a- si -bat Arba- il
horns of iron. *Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,*

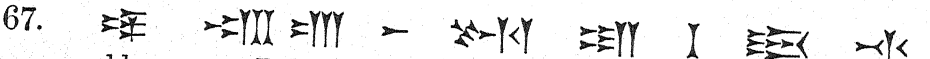

isati lab - bu -sat * * * * * * * na -sa- at
with fire clothed; * * * * * * * *drought (?)*


eli A- ri - bi i - ẓa- an - nun nab - li
upon Arabia *poured* *down.*

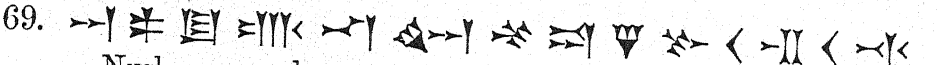
64. 
Uruki qar - du a - nun - tu ku- uṣ -ṣur va
Uruki the warrior, mourning caused and

65. 
u - ra - (aṣ) - ṣi - ba ga - ri ya
destroyed *my* *enemies.*

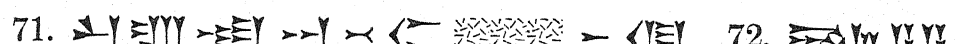
66. 
Nin - ip tar - ta - ḫu qar - ra - du rab - u
Ninip fierce, in war great,

67. 
ablu Bel ina uṣ - ṣi su kap - ti
the son of Bel; with his mighty arrows

68. 
u -par- ri - [ir] na - pis - ti nakiri ya
destroyed the life of my enemies.

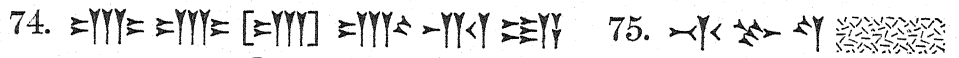
69. 
Nusku suqul na - ha - du mu - sa - bu - u bel - u - ti
Nusku the glorious messenger, sitting in dominion;

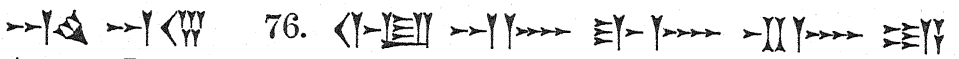
70. 
sa ina ki - bit Assur Belat * * * bit
*who by command of Assur and Beltis * * * *

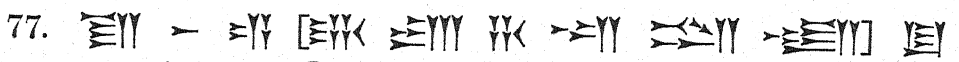
71. 
qa - sit - tu Be - lat * * * * ki 72. ida - ai
*The archer, the Goddess of * * * * * my forces*

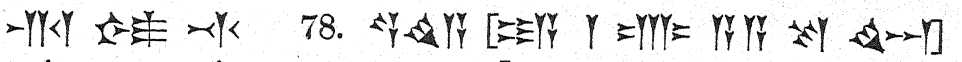

il - lik va iz * * * * * as - ru ṣar - u - ti
*preceded, and * * * * * * place of my kingdom,*

73. 
me - eh - rit umman [ya] iṣ - bat va
the front of my army took and

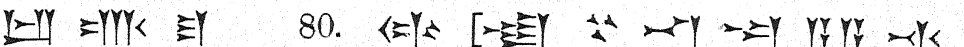
74. 
u - sam - [kit] ga - ri ya 75. ti - bu - ut * * *
*destroyed my enemies. The stroke * * *

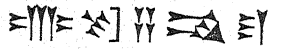

Assur Istar 76. va Ili rabati beli ya
Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,

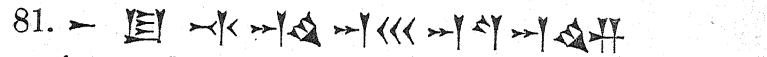
77. 
sa ina e - [pis ta - ḫa - zu il - li] - ku
who in making [war], went to the


ri - ṣu - ti 78. umman [ya U - ai - te - eh]
help of my army: Vaiteh

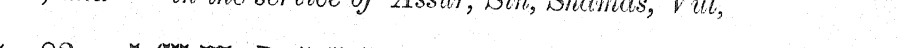

is - mu - u va eli [ip - se - e - ti an - na - a - ti]
heard of, and over [these things]

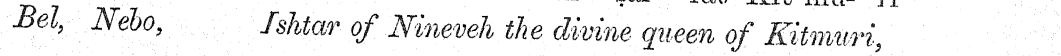

ip - luḫ va 80. ul - [tu Na - ba - ai - ti
feared, and from [Nabatea

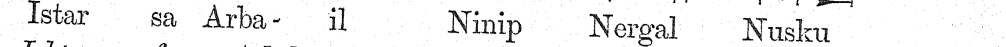

u -se]-ẓa- av -va
I] brought out, and

81. 
ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul
in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,

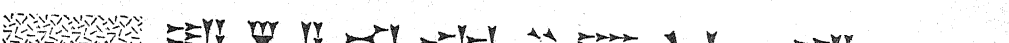

Bel Nabu
Bel, Nebo,

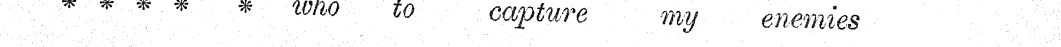
82. 
Istar sa Ninua Il ṣar - rat Kit-mu- ri
Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

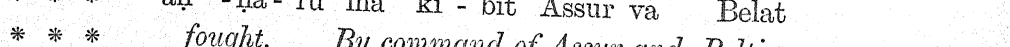
83. 
Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

84. 
* * * * uṣ - ṣu va u - ra - a su a - na Assur
* * * * *him, and sent him to Assyria.*

85. 
* * * * ya sa a - na ka - sad nakiri ya
* * * * * *who to capture my enemies*

86. 
* * * aḥ -ḥa- ru ina ki - bit Assur va Belat
* * * *fought. By command of Assur and Beltis,*

87. 
ina iz - ḫu - ut -ẓa(?) dan(?) * * * sa ẓi - bit qati ya
with a mace(?) which was grasped by my hand,

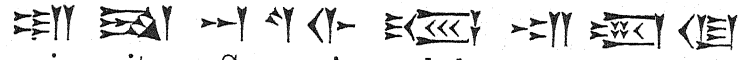
88. 
ṣeri mi - ẓi su ab - lu - us
the flesh coming out of him, his son,

89.
ina du - uḥ
in sight of

(v. 
(v. la - aḥ) eni su at - ta - di ẓir - ri - tu
his eyes I struck down.

90. 
ul - li kalbi la ad - di su va
With the dogs I did not place him,

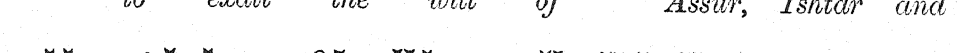
91.
ina bab
in the gate

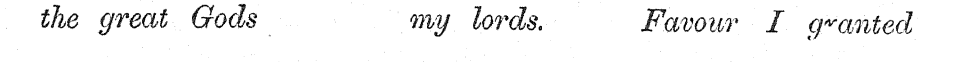

ẓi - it Sam - si qabal Ninua 92. sa
of the rising sun, in the midst of Nineveh, which,

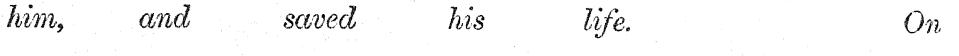

Ni - rib - par - nak - ti - ad - na - a - ti na - bu - u zi - kar sa
Nirib-parnakti-adnati is called its name;


93. u - sa - an - ẓir su si - ga - ru (v. ṣi - gar - ru)
I caused to keep him chained,

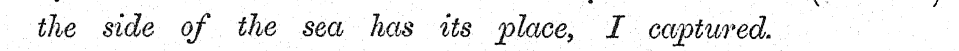

94. a - na da - lal ta - us - ti Assur Istar va
to exalt the will of Assur, Ishtar and

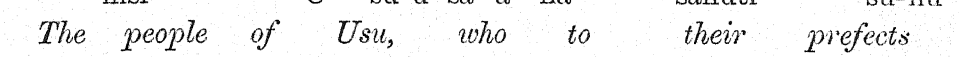

Ili rabati 95. beli ya re - e - mu ar - si
the great Gods my lords. Favour I granted

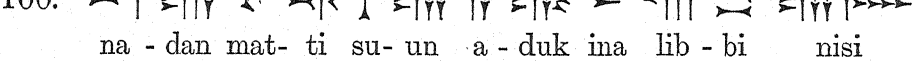

su va u - bal - liḍ nap - sat ṣu 96. ina
him, and saved his life. On

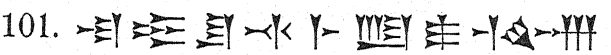

ta - ay - ar - ti ya U - su - u 97. sa ina
my return Usu, which by

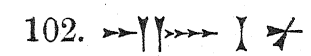

a - ḥi tam - ti id - da - at su - bat ṣu ak - su - ud (v. aksud)
the side of the sea has its place, I captured.


98. nisi U - su - u sa a - na sanuti su - nu
The people of Usu, who to their prefects

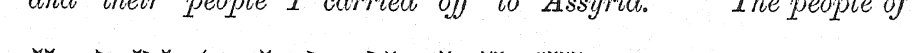

99. la ṣa - an - qu la i - nā - di - nu man - da - at - tu
were not reverent, and did not give the tribute,

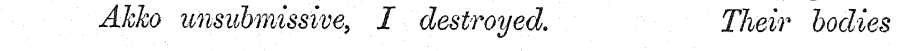
100. 
na - dan mat- ti su- un a - duk ina lib - bi nisi
the gift of their country, I slew. Amongst the people

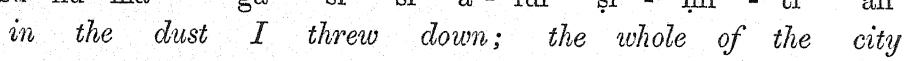
101. 
la kan - su - ti sib- ḍu as - kun
unsubmissive, chastisement I inflicted.

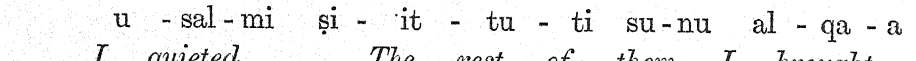
102. 
Ili su-nu
Their Gods

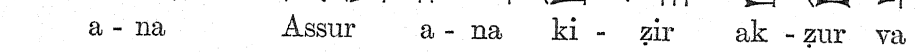

nisi su-nu as - lu - la a - na Assur nisi
and their people I carried off to Assyria. The people of

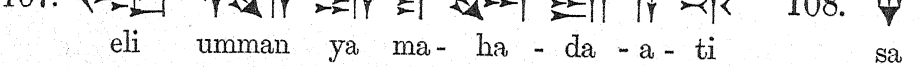

Ak - ku - u la kan - su - ti a - nar pagri
Akko unsubmissive, I destroyed. Their bodies

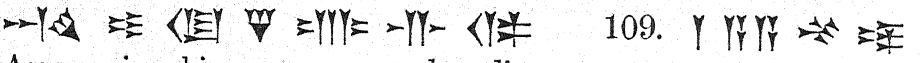

su - nu ina ga - si - si a - lul ṣi - ḥir - ti ali
in the dust I threw down; the whole of the city

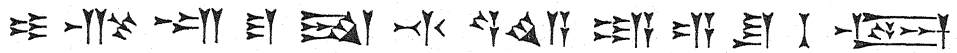
105. 
u - sal - mi ṣi - it - tu - ti su - nu al - qa - a
I quieted. The rest of them I brought

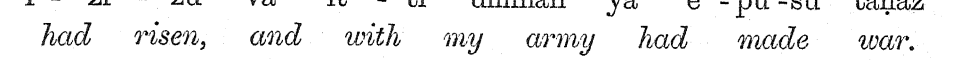
106. 
a - na Assur a - na ki - ṣir ak - ṣur va
to Assyria, in rank I arranged, and

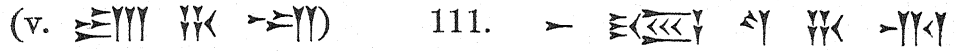
107. 
eli umman ya ma - ha - da - a - ti sa
over my numerous army, which


Assur i - ki - sa u - rad - di Ai - mu ablu
Assur strengthened, I spread. Aimu son of


Te - ha - ri it - ti A - bi - ya - te - eh aḫu su
Teharî, with Abiyateh his brother

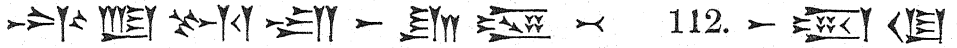

i - zi - zu va it - ti umman ya e - pu - su taḫaz
had risen, and with my army had made war.

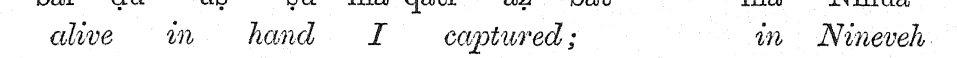

(v. ta - ḫa - zu) ina qabal tam - ḫa - ri
In the midst of battle,


bal - ḍu - uṣ - ṣu ina qati aẓ - bat ina Ninua
alive in hand I captured; in Nineveh

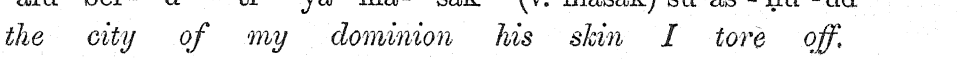

alu bel - u - ti ya ma - sak (v. masak) su as - ḫu - ud
the city of my dominion his skin I tore off.

Cylinder B, Column VII.

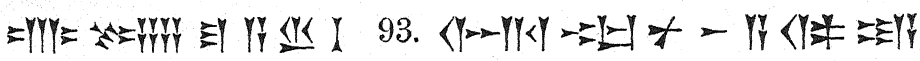

Ya - u - ta - ah ablu Ḫa - za - il ṣar
Yautah son of Hazael king of


Qi - id - ri e - pis ardu - ti ya as - su Ili su
Kedar, made submission to me; for his Gods,


sa abu ba - nu - u a is - lu - lu im - ḫar an - ni va
which the father my begetter had carried off, he prayed me, and

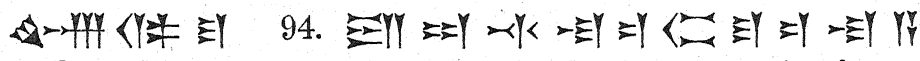

u - zal - la - a ṣar - u - ti sumi Ili rabati
submitted to my kingdom. The names of the great Gods


u - sa - az - kir su - (u) va A - tar - ṣa - ma - in
I made him swear by, and Adarsamain



u - tir va a-din su — 93. ar - ka -nu ina a- di - ya

I restored and gave him. — *Afterwards against my agreement*



iḫ - ḍi va — 94. ḍa - ab - ti la iẓ - ẓur va iz - la - a

he sinned, and — *benefits did not regard, and threw off*



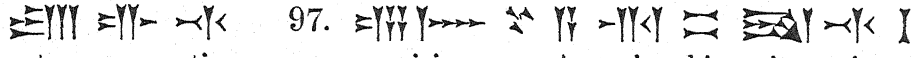
niru bel - u - ti ya — 95. a - na sa - ha - al

the yoke of my dominion. — *To seek*



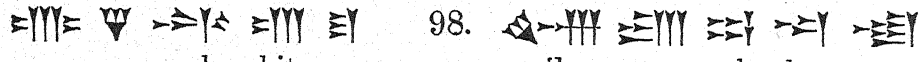
sul - mi ya sepu su ip - ru - uṣ va — 96. ik - la - a

my alliance his feet broke off, and — *he discontinued*



ta - mar - ti — 97. nisi A - ri - bi it - ti su

the presents. — *The people of Arabia with him*



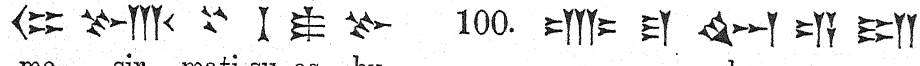
u - sa - pal - kit va — 98. iḫ - ta - nab - ba - tu

he caused to revolt, and — *carried away the*



ḫu - bu - ut Ḥatti — 99. umman ya sa ina

plunder of Syria. — *My army which on the*



me - ṣir mati su as - bu — 100. u - ma - he - e - ra

border of his country was stationed, — *I sent*

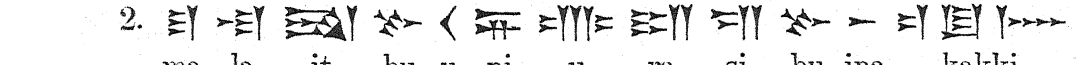


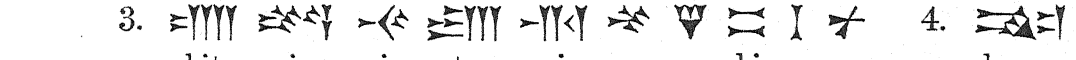
ẓi - ru - us - su

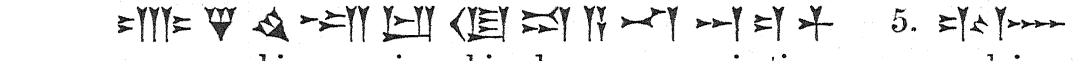
against him;

Column VIII.

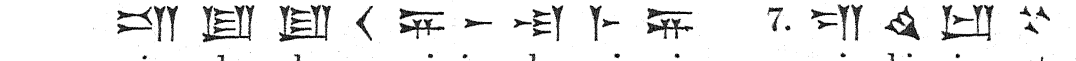
1. 
abikta su-nu is-ku-nu nisi A-ri-bi
his overthrow they accomplished. The people of Arabia,

2. 
ma-la it-bu-u-ni u-ra-ṣi-bu ina kakki
all who came they destroyed with the sword,

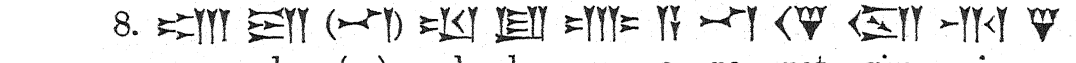
3. 
bit-ẓin zir-ta-ri mu-sa-bi su-nu kamu
the tents, the pavilions, their dwellings, a fire

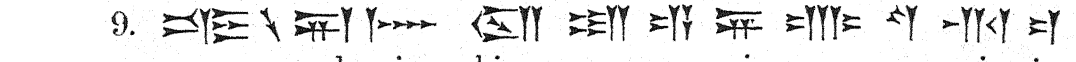

u-sa-ḥi-zu ip-ki-du a-na isati alpi
they raised and gave to the flames. Oxen,


ẓe-e-ni imiri gam-mal-i a-mi-lu-tu
sheep, asses, camels and men,


is-lu-lu-u-ni ina la mi-ni ṣi-ḥi-ip matu
they carried off without number. The sweeping of all the


ka-la-mu a-na ṣi-ḥir-ti-su
country, through its extent

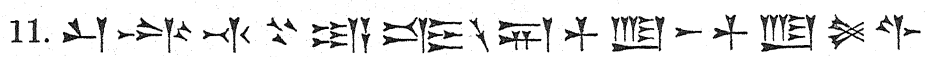
8. 
um-da-(na)-al-lu-u a-na pat gim-ri sa
they collected through the whole of it.

9. 
gam-mal-i kima ẓe-e-ni u-par-ri-iṣ
Camels like sheep I distributed,

10. 

u -za- hi -iz a - na nisi A - ri - bi

and caused to overflow to the people of Arabia

11. 

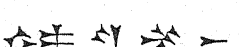
qa- bal - ti mati ya gam -mal ½ * * ina ½ * * kas-pi

dwelling in my country. A camel for half a shekel in half shekels of

12. 

i - sam -mu ina bab ma-ḥi- ri

silver they valued in front of the gate

13. 

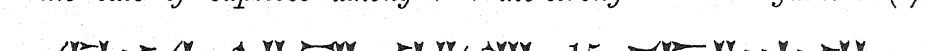
ṣu -ud-mu ina

the spoil(?) in



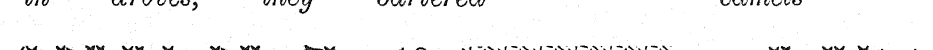
ni- id -ni nakmi(?) ina * * ḥa-be- e * * * ḥir

*the sale of captives among * * the strong * gathered(?)*



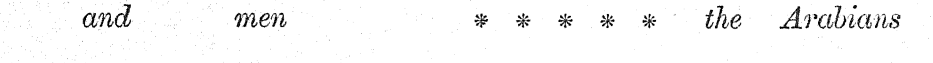
ina ki - i - si im - da - na -ḥa- ru gammali

in droves, they bartered camels



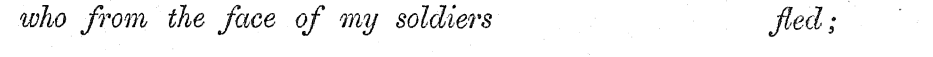
va a -mi- lu - tu * * * * * A- ri -bi

*and men * * * * * the Arabians*



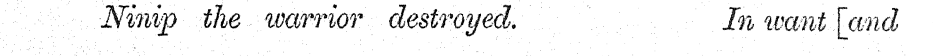
sa la pa - an kakki ya in -nab- [tu]

who from the face of my soldiers fled;



u - sam - kit Ninip qar - du ṣu - un - [ki

Ninip the warrior destroyed. In want [and



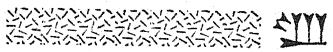
bu - bu - ti nap -sat ṣu] - un is - sa - kin va a - na

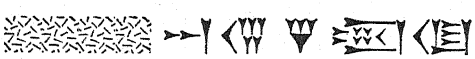
famine] their [life] was passed, and for



bu - ri [su - nu e - ku] - lu ṣeri mari su- un

their food they eat the flesh of their children

20. 
* * * * * * ru
* * * * * * *

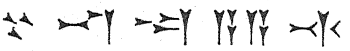
21. 
* * * * Istar sa Ninua
* * * * *Ishtar of Nineveh*


* * * * * *
* * * * * *

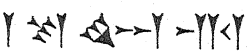
22. 
Ya -u- ta - ah ma- ru - us - tu
Yautah *misfortune*

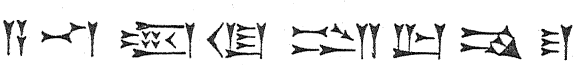

im - ḫar su va
happened to him, and

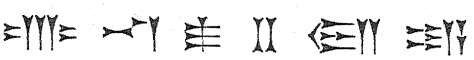
23. 
e -dis- si su in - na - bit a - na
alone *he* *fled* *to*

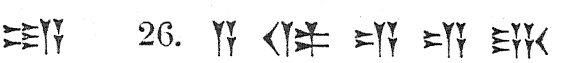

Na - ba - ai - ti
Nabatea.

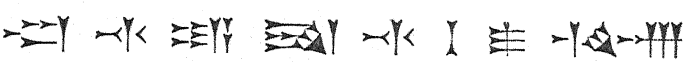
24. 
A - bi - ya - te - eh ablu
Abiyateh *son of*


Te - he - ri
Teheri,

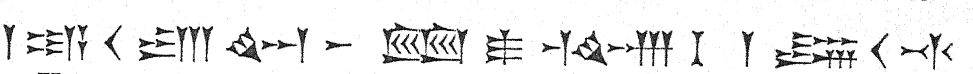
25. 
a - na Ninua il - lik - av - va
to *Nineveh* *came* *and*

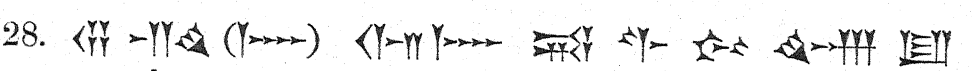

u - na - as - siq sepi ya
kissed *my* *feet.*

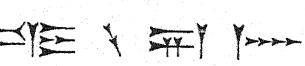
26. 
a - de - e e - pis
An agreement to make


ardu - ti ya it - ti su as - kun
submission to me with him I made;

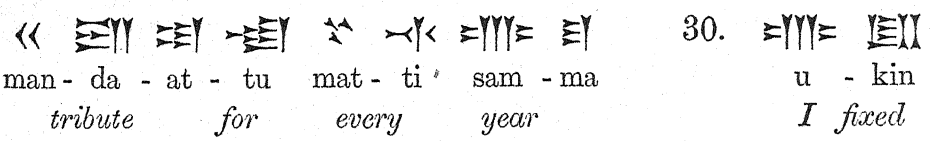
27. 
ku - um
instead of


Ya -u- ta - ah ina aiumma as - kun su ana ṣar -u- ti
Yautah *or any one, I appointed him to the kingdom.*

28. 
huraz eni aban pi gu - uḫ - lu
Gold, *eyes* *of* *pi* *stone,* *guhlu,*

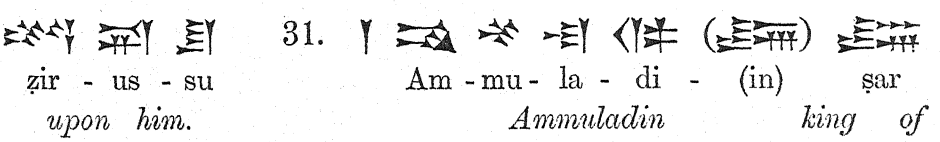

gam -mal - i
camels *and*

29. 
imiri bit - ridu - ti
stallion *asses,*



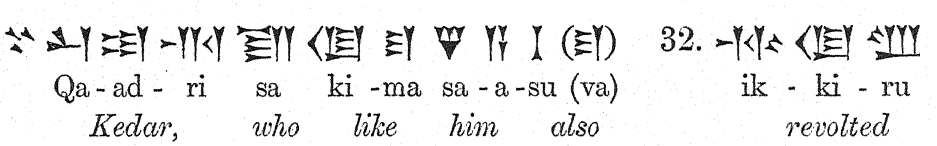
man - da - at - tu mat - ti sam - ma 30. u - kin

tribute for every year *I fixed*



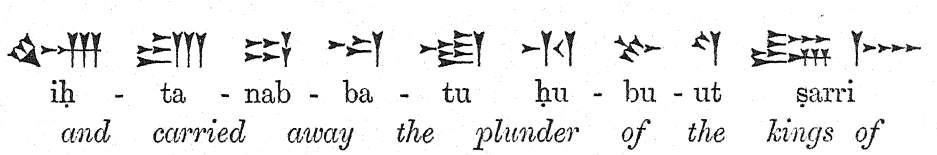
ṣir - us - su 31. Am - mu - la - di - (in) ṣar

upon him. *Ammuladin* *king of*



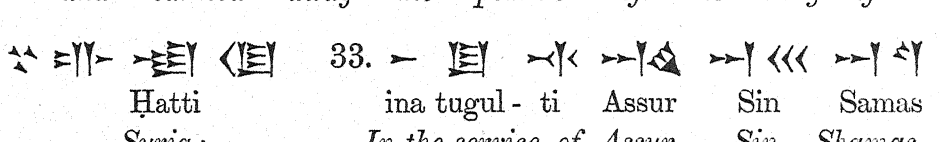
Qa - ad - ri sa ki - ma sa - a - su (va) 32. ik - ki - ru

Kedar, who like him also *revolted*



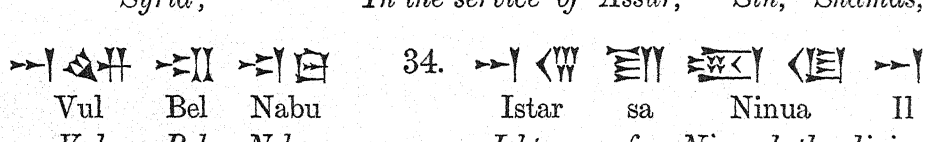
iḫ - ta - nab - ba - tu ḫu - bu - ut ṣarri

and carried away the plunder of the kings of



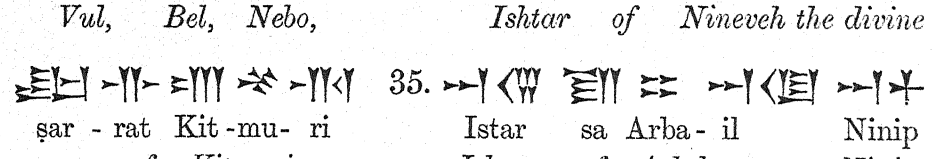
Ḫatti 33. ina tugul - ti Assur Sin Samas

Syria; *In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas,*



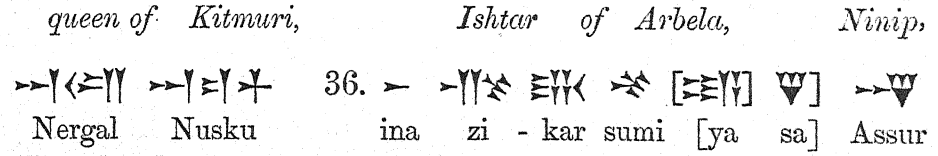
Vul Bel Nabu 34. Istar sa Ninua Il

Vul, Bel, Nebo, *Ishtar of Nineveh the divine*



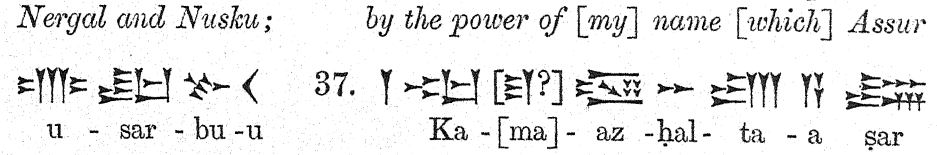
ṣar - rat Kit - mu - ri 35. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip

queen of Kitmuri, *Ishtar of Arbela,* *Ninip,*



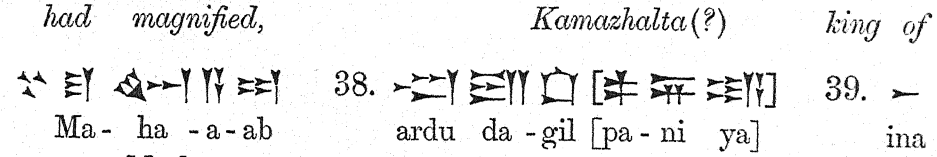
Nergal Nusku 36. ina zi - kar sumi [ya sa] Assur

Nergal and Nusku; *by the power of [my] name [which] Assur*



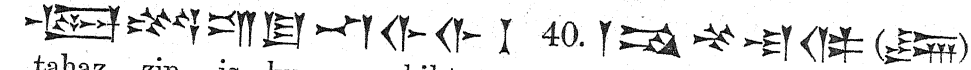
u - sar - bu - u 37. Ka - [ma] - az - ḫal - ta - a ṣar

had magnified, *Kamazhalta(?)* *king of*

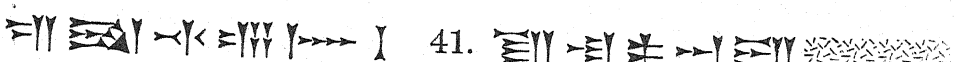


Ma - ha - a - ab 38. ardu da - gil [pa - ni ya] 39. ina

Moab, *a tributary dependent on me,* *in the*



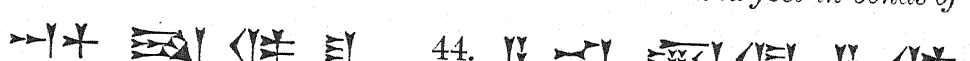
taḫaz ẓin is-ku-na abikta su 40. Am-mu-la-di-(in)
battle field accomplished his overthrow. *Ammuladin*



ṣi-it-ti nisi su 41. sa la pa-an da * * * *
and the rest of his people, *who from the face of* * * * *



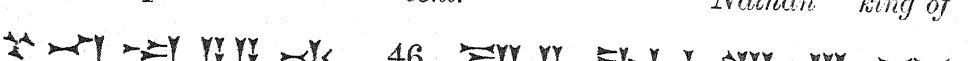
u-ni 42. u-ẓab-bit ina qati 43. qati va sepi bi-ri-tu
* * *he captured in hand.* *His hands and feet in bonds of*



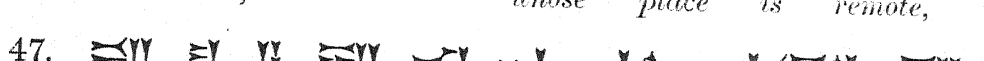
parzil id-di va 44. a-na Ninua a-di
iron he placed, and *to* *Nineveh* *to*



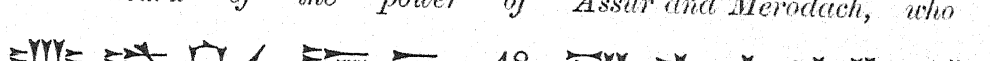
mah-ri ya u-se-bi-la 45. Na-ad-nu ṣar
my presence he sent. *Nathan king of*



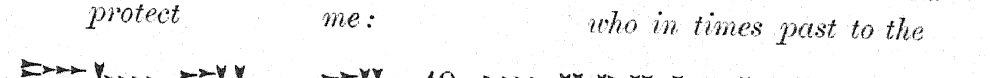
Na-ba-ai-ti 46. sa a-sar su ru-u-qu
Nabatea, *whose place is remote,*



47. is-ma-a da-na-an Assur Maruduk sa
heard of the power of *Assur and Merodach, who*



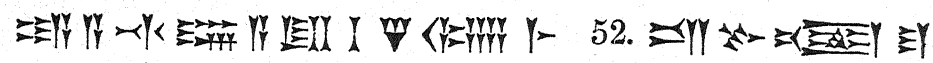
u-tag-gil-u in-ni 48. sa ma-ti-ma a-na
protect *me:* *who in times past to the*



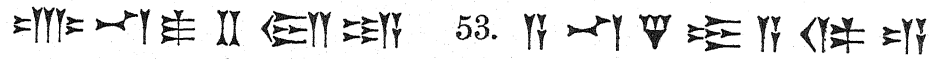
ṣarri abi ya 49. a-mir su la is-pu-ra
kings my fathers *his envoy did not send,*



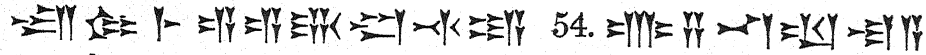
50. la is-a-lū su-lum ṣaru-ti su-un 51. e-nin-na
and did not seek alliance with their kingdom. *Again*



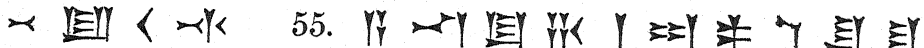
ya -a- ti a-mir su sa sul -mi 52. is -pu- rav -va
to me his envoy for alliance he sent; and



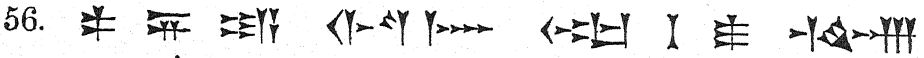
u -na -as-siq sepi ya 53. a - na sa-kan a- de - e
kissed my feet. To establish agreement and



ṣu -lum-me- e e -pis ardu- ti ya 54. u -za- na - al - la -a
alliance, and make submission to me, he submitted to



be - lu -u- ti 55. a - na -ku ḫa-dis ap -pa-lis su va
my dominion. I gladly received him, and



56. pa - ni ya damqati eli su as - kun
before me favours on him conferred,



57. belat man - da - at - tu san - ti sam - ma
taxes and tribute for every year

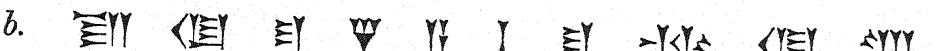


u - kin ṣir - us -su
I fixed upon him.

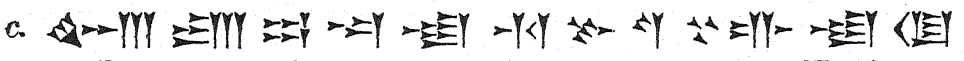
K, 2802, Column II. Variant Passage for Cylinder B, Column VIII, Lines 31 to 52.

a. 

Am - mu - la - di - in ṣar Qa - ad - ri
Ammuladin king of Kedar,

b. 

sa ki - ma sa - a - su va ik - ki - ru
who like him also revolted;



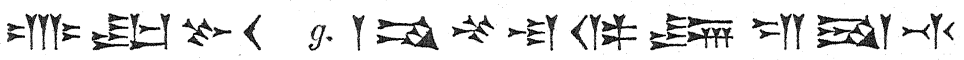
c. iḫ - ta -nab - ba - tu ḫu - bu - ut Hatti
carried away the spoil of Syria,



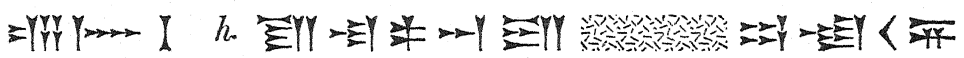
d. ardi da - gil pa - ni ya e. sa tu - sak - ni - sa
the tributaries dependent on me, whom thou hast subdued



a - na niri ya f. ina zi - kar sumi ya sa Assur
to my yoke. By the power of my name which Assur



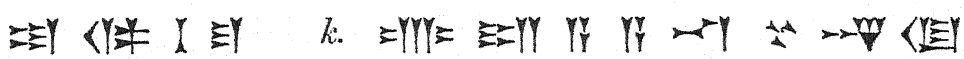
u - sar - bu - u g. Am - mu - la - di - in ṣi - it - ti
had magnified, Ammuladin and the rest of



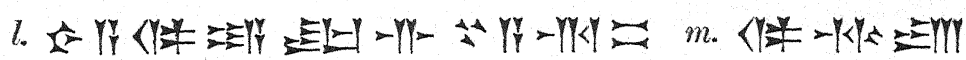
nisi su sa la pa - an da * * * * nab - tu - u - ni
*his people, who from the face of the * * * * fled,*



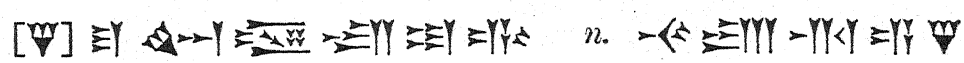
u - ẓab - bit ina qati qati va niri bi - ri - tu parzil
I captured in hand. Hand and foot in bonds of iron



ad - di su va k. u - ra - a a - na Assur
I placed him, and sent to Assyria.



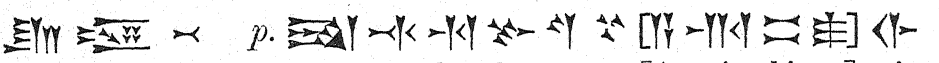
A - di - ya ṣar - rat A - ri - bi m. di - ik - ta
Adiya queen of Arabia, [her] numerous



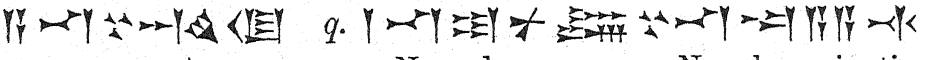
[sa] ma - ha - aṣ - ṣu ad - duk n. zir - ta - re - e sa
fighting men I slew, her pavilions



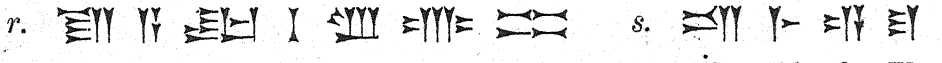
ina isati ak - mu o. sa - a - sa bal - ḍu - uṣ - ṣa ina
in the fire I burned, her alive in



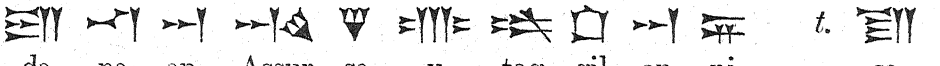
qati aẓ -bat *p.* it - ti ḫu - bu - ut [A- ri - bi as]- si
hand I captured, *and with the spoil of [Arabia] I carried*



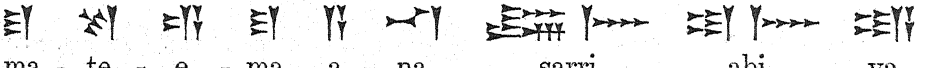
a - na Assur *q.* Na - ad - nu ṣar Na - ba - ai - ti
to Assyria. *Nathan king of* *Nabatea,*



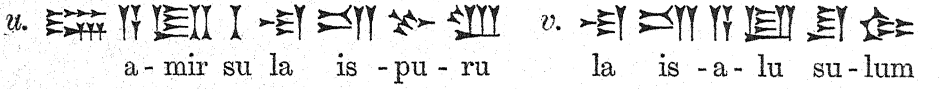
r. sa a - sar su ru - u - qu *s.* is - me - e va
whose place was remote; *heard also of*



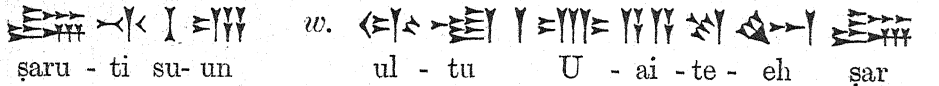
da - na - an Assur sa u - tag - gil an - ni *t.* sa
the power of Assur who protected me: *who*



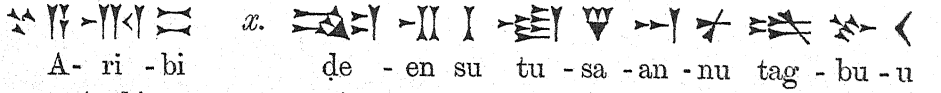
ma - te - e - ma a - na ṣarri abi ya
in time past to the *kings my* *fathers,*



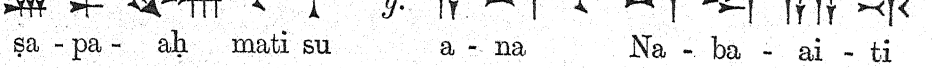
u. a - mir su la is - pu - ru *v.* la is - a - lu su - lum
his envoy did not send, *and did not seek alliance*



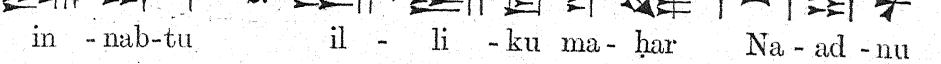
ṣaru - ti su- un *w.* ul - tu U - ai - te - eh ṣar
with their kingdom. *On* *Vaiteh* *king of*



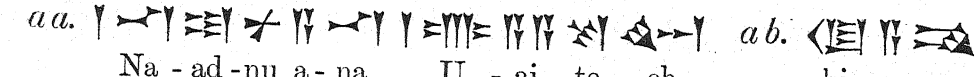
A- ri - bi *x.* ḍe - en su tu - sa - an - nu tag - bu - u
Arabia, *his sentence thou didst pronounce, thou didst*



ṣa - pa - aḫ mati su *y.* a - na Na - ba - ai - ti
command to waste his country. *To* *Nabatea*



in - nab - tu *z.* il - li - ku ma - ḫar Na - ad - nu
he fled, *and came before* *Nathan.*



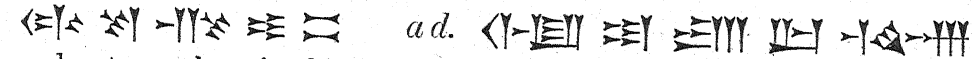
a a. Na - ad - nu a - na U - ai - te - eh *a b.* ki - a - am

Nathan to Vaiteh even



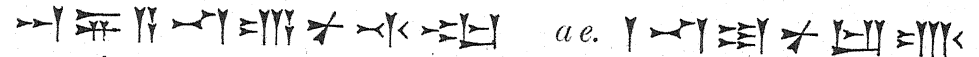
ig - bi su va *a c.* um - ma a - na - ku ina qati Assur

said, to him thus: "I in the hands of Assyria



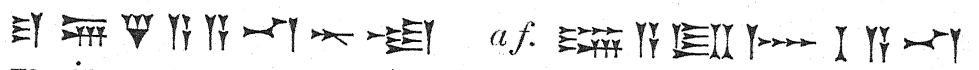
ul - te - zi - i - bi *a d.* va at - ta tas - kun

am fast bound, and thou reliest on



an - ni a - na dan - nu - ti ka *a e.* Na - ad - nu ip - luḫ

me to strengthen thee." Nathan feared



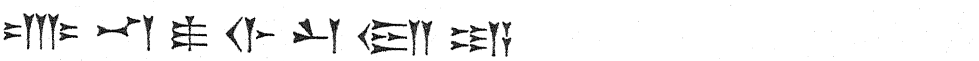
va ir - sa - a a - na suq - tu *a f.* a - mir - i su a - na

and inclined to despair; his envoys to



sa - ḫa - al sul - mi ya *a g.* is - pur - av - va

seek my alliance he sent, and



u - na - as - si - qa sepi ya

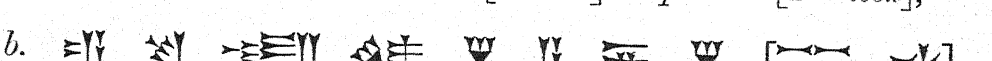
kissed my feet.

K, 2802, Column III. Variant for Cylinder A, Column VIII, Lines 70 to 82.



a. ar - di ur - ḫi [ru - qu - u - ti e - bil]

I marched, a [distant] path [I took],



b. e - te - li ḫar - sa - a - ni sa - [qu - ti]

I ascended the lofty country,



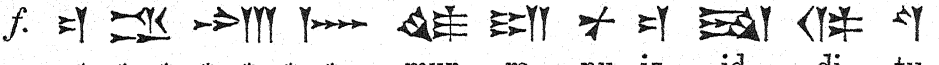
c. aḫ - ta - lu - ub kisti *d.* sa ṣu - lul

I passed through the forests, *of which their shadow*



si - na rap - su *e.* bi - rit iṣi rabati gi - iṣ - ṣu

was vast, *bounded by trees great and strong,*



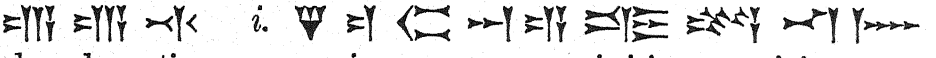
* * * * * * * mur - ra - nu iṣ - id - di - tu

and vines(?) * * * *a road of mighty wood.*



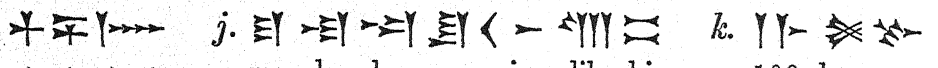
e - te - ti - iq ki - rib Vas *h.* a - sar ṣu - um - mi

I went to the midst of Vas, *a place arid and*



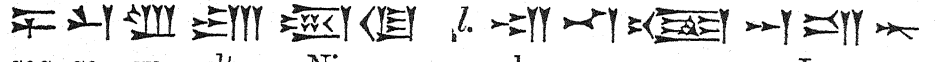
dan - dan - ti *i.* sa iṣ - ṣur same imiri ṣini

very difficult, *where the birds of heaven and wild asses*



* * * * *j.* ma - la ba - su - u ina lib - bi *k.* 100 kas - pu

* * * * *are all there is in it.* 100 *kaspu*



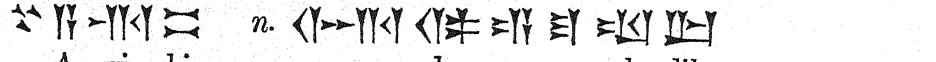
qaq - qa - ru ultu Ninua *l.* alu na - ram Is - tar

of ground from Nineveh, *the city the delight of Ishtar*



ḥi - rat Bel *m.* ṣir U - ai - te - eh ṣar

wife of Bel; *against* *Vaiteh* *king of*



A - ri - bi *n.* ar - de - e va al - lik

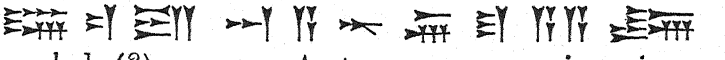
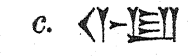
Arabia *I marched and went.*

EXTRACT FROM K, 2802, COLUMN III. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VIII, LINES 95 TO 97.

a. 

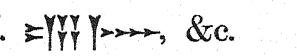
di - ik - tu ina lib I - ṣa - am - mi - ih

The fighting men among the Isammih,

b.  *c.* 

halu(?) A - tar - sa - ma - ai - in va

the servants of Adarsamain, and the

 *d.* , &c.

Na - ba - ai - ta - ai i - du - ku nisi, &c.

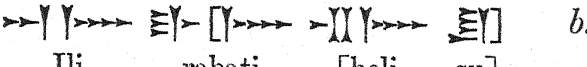
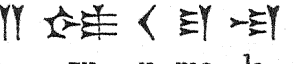
Nabateans they slew. People, &c.

EPIGRAPHS ON K, 3096.

a. 

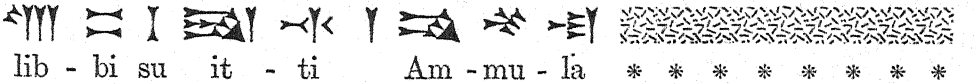
a - na - ku Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur sa ina ki - bit

I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria, who by command

 *b.* 

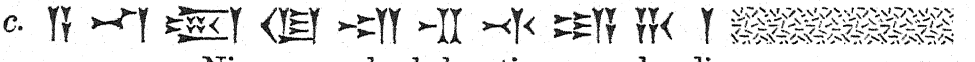
Ili rabati [beli su] im - ẓu - u ma - la

of the great Gods [his lords], has gratified all



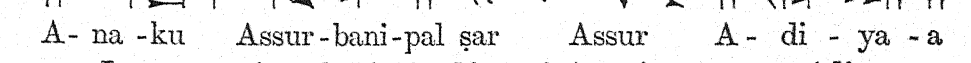
lib - bi su it - ti Am - mu - la * * * * * * * *

his heart. With Ammuladin * * * * * * * *

c. 

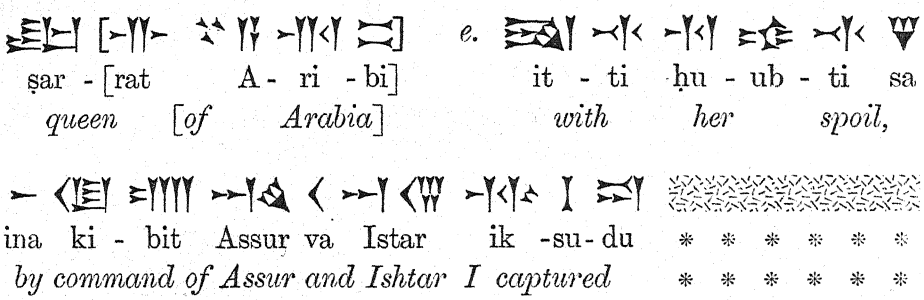
a - na Ninua alu belu - ti ya ḫa - dis * * * * *

to Nineveh the city of my dominion, joyfully * * * * *

d. 

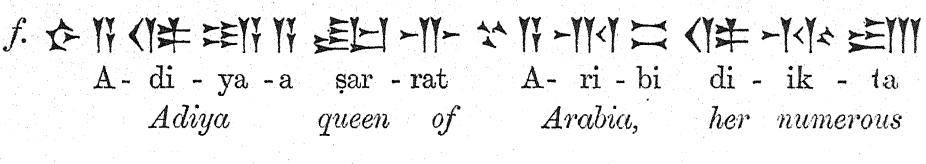
A - na - ku Assur - bani - pal ṣar Assur A - di - ya - a

I Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Adiya

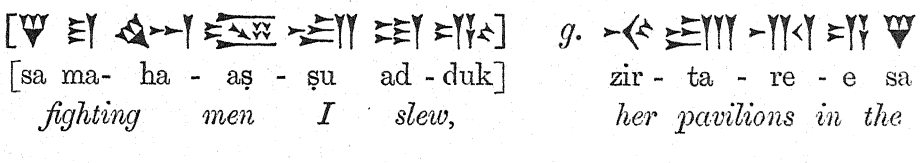


ṣar - [rat A - ri - bi] *e.* it - ti ḫu - ub - ti sa
queen [of Arabia] *with her spoil,*

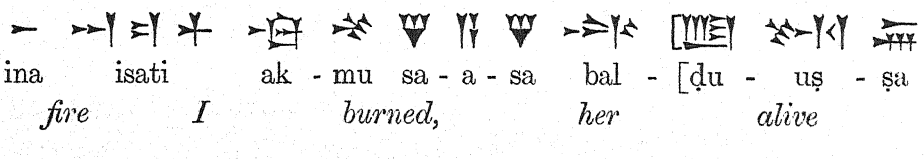
ina ki - bit Assur va Istar ik - su - du * * * * * *
by command of Assur and Ishtar I captured * * * * * *



A - di - ya - a ṣar - rat A - ri - bi di - ik - ta
Adiya queen of Arabia, her numerous



[sa ma - ḥa - aṣ - ṣu ad - duk] *g.* zir - ta - re - e sa
fighting men I slew, *her pavilions in the*

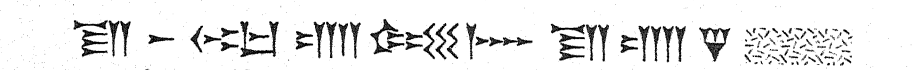


ina isati ak - mu sa - a - sa bal - [ḍu - uṣ - ṣa
fire I burned, *her alive*



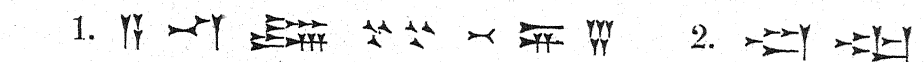
ina qati aẓ - bat
in hand I captured.

(At the bottom of the tablet occurs the following notice of the place of these Epigraphs.)

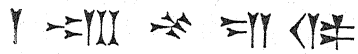


sa ina eli iguri sa Bit - sa * * *
which were upon the chamber-walls of Bitsa * * *

K, 562.



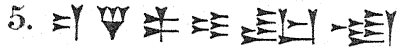
1. A - na ṣar matati be - eli ya 2. arad ka
To the king of the earth, my lord, *thy servant*

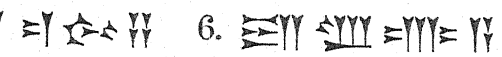

Bel - zikir - esir
Belzikiresir.

3. 
Bel va Maruduk immi
Bel and Merodach, length

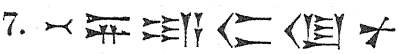

araku
of days,

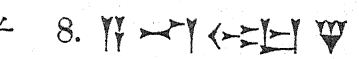
4. 
sanat an - na - i da - ra - a - ti
years everlasting,

5. 
iz - sa - pa i - sar - tu kuzzu
a sceptre of justice, and an

6. 
da - ru - u a - na
everlasting throne, to the


ṣar matati
king of the earth,

7. 
be - eli ya lit - ki - nu
my lord, may they establish.

8. 
a - na eli sa
Concerning that of


ṣar be - eli a
which the king my lord

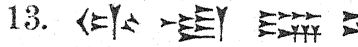
9. 
ḍe - e - mi is - kun an - ni
gave directions to me

10. 
um - ma ḍe - em sa
thus: "The news of the


Ar - a - bi ma - la
Arabians, all


ta - sim - mu - u
thou hearest,

12. 
sapra a - lak - ti si - i
send the account of it."

13. 
ul - tu Ni - ba - ha - a - ti
From the Nabateans

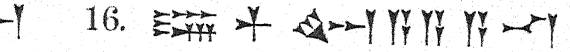
14. 
ki - i
there is


ḫir - za - a
news;

Ai - ka - ma - ru
Aikamaru

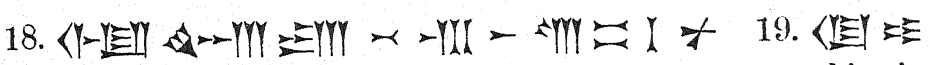
15. 
ablu su sa
son of


Am - mi - ha - ta - ah
Ammihatah

16. 
Vas - ha - ai a - na
the Vasite,



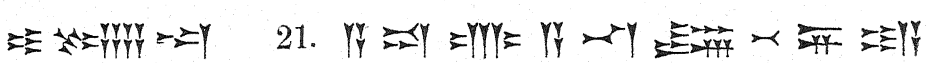
eli su-nu ki - i it - bu - u ṣabi id - duk
against them had come; the men he slew



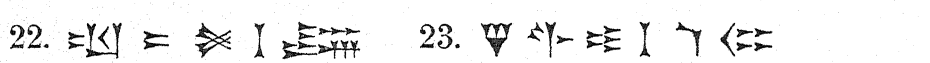
va iḥ - ta -bat edu ina lib - bi su-nu ki - i
and plundered. One in the midst of them then



u - se - zi - bu a - na lib - bi alu sa ṣar
they saved; to the midst of the city of the king

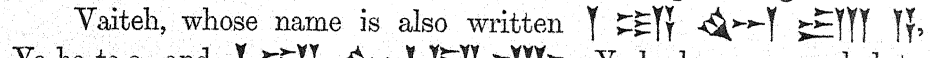
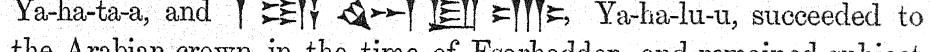


i - tur - ba a - du - u a - na ṣar be - eli ya
he entered. Now to the king my lord



al -tap-ras-su ṣar sa pi - i su lis - me
I send him; the king, of his mouth may he hear.

The events recorded in this division of the reign of Assurbanipal stretch over a considerable time. In Cylinder B we are told that the father of Assurbanipal had carried off the Gods of the Arabian monarch, and that Yauteh, or Vaiteh, king of Arabia, came to Assurbanipal and asked for the restoration of these idols. A precisely similar story is related in the annals of Esarhaddon, the father of Assurbanipal; and I am of opinion that the compiler of Cylinder B transferred this account to Assurbanipal's reign.

Vaiteh, whose name is also written , Ya-ha-ta-a, and , Ya-ha-lu-u, succeeded to the Arabian crown in the time of Esarhaddon, and remained subject to Assyria until the revolt of Saulmugina, when he joined in the conspiracy, and raised two armies; one he sent into Palestine, and the other to help the Babylonians. The Arabians who invaded Palestine marched as far as Zobah; when they were defeated by the Assyrian troops and gradually driven out of the country. About

the same time an Arabian chief, Ammuladin, called king of Kedar, invaded Moab in company with Adiya queen of Arabia. Their forces were met by Kamas(?)-halta king of Moab, a tributary of Assyria, who defeated them, and sent Ammuladin and Adiya in chains to Nineveh. Vaiteh, after these reverses, fled to Nabathea, and was delivered up to Assyria, probably by Nathan king of that country, who sent an envoy to make submission to Assurbanipal. The Arabian army which was sent to Babylon, was besieged in that city by the Assyrians; and, attempting to make a sortie, was a second time defeated and driven within the walls. Abiyateh and Aimu the Arabian generals, then submitted to Assurbanipal, and that monarch sent Abiyateh to Arabia, to take the crown as tributary of Assyria. Meanwhile, after the flight of Vaiteh, the Arabians raised to the throne his nephew, who bore the same name (Vaiteh) as himself. Vaiteh II and Abiyateh afterwards joined in alliance with Nathan king of Nabathea, and they all commenced hostilities against Assyria. To chastise them, Assurbanipal organised an expedition into Arabia. It is difficult to determine the position of the towns captured by the Assyrians in this expedition, but it is not probable that they penetrated far into the desert. Their own statement is, that they went a distance of 100 kaspu (700 English miles) from Nineveh. On the return of the army from Arabia, Assurbanipal punished the cities of Akko and Usu (on the coast of Palestine) for revolt. The dispatch, K, 562, probably belongs to a later period in the history, but it is inserted here on account of its reference to Arabia.

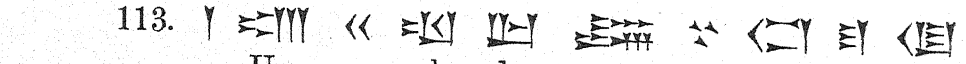
PART XIII.

The Final Triumph over Elam.

TEXTS.

The texts of this division of the Annals are Cylinder A, col. ix, line 113, to col. x, line 21; and the Memorial Slab published in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 66.

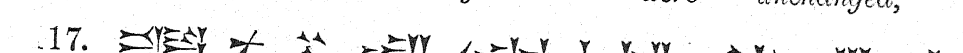
Cylinder A, Column IX.

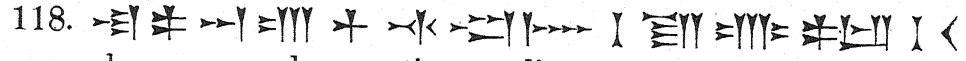
113. 
Um -man- al - das ṣar Elam
Ummanaldas king of Elam,

114. 
sa ul - tu ul - la Assur va Istar beli ya
whom from of old Assur and Ishtar my lords

115. 
ig - bu - u e - pis ardu - u - ti ya 116.
ina ki - bit
had commanded to make submission to me; by command


Ilu - ti su - nu ẓir - ti sa la in - nin - nu - u
of their great divinity who were unchanged,

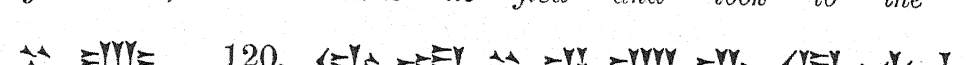
117. 
arka - nu mat ṣu eli su ip - pal - kit va
afterwards his country against him revolted, and



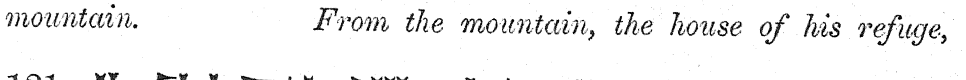
118. la pa-an ṣaḫ-mas-ti ardi su sa u-sab-su-u
from the face of the tumult of his servants which they made



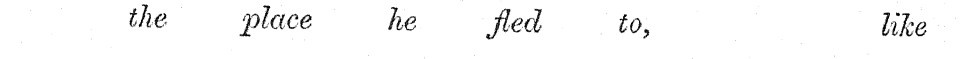
eli su 119. e-dis-si su ip-par-sid va iẓ-ba-ta
against him, alone he fled and took to the



sadu-u 120. ul-tu sade-e bit mar-ki-ti su
mountain. From the mountain, the house of his refuge,

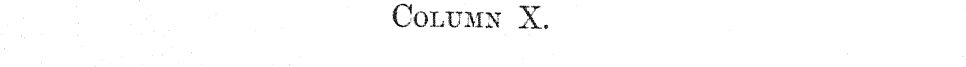


121. a-sar it-ta-nap-ras-si-du 122. ki-ma
the place he fled to, like

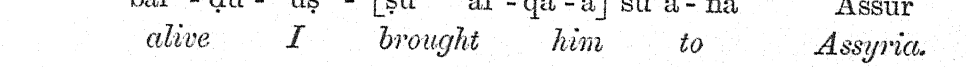


ra-pa-qaq iẓẓur a-mas-su va
a rapaqaq bird I removed, and

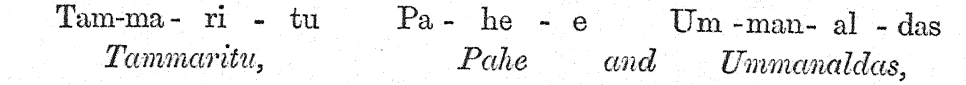
Column X.



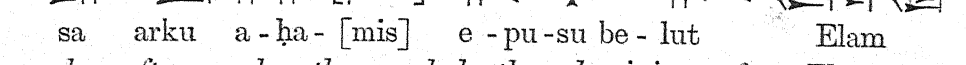
1. bal-ḍu-uṣ-[ṣu al-qa-a] su a-na Assur
alive I brought him to Assyria.



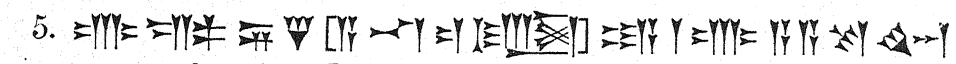
2. Tam-ma-ri-tu Pa-he-e Um-man-al-das
Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas,



3. sa arku a-ḫa-[mis] e-pu-su be-lut Elam
who after each other ruled the dominion of Elam;



4. sa ina e-mu-ki Assur va Istar beli ya
whom, by the power of Assur and Ishtar my lords,



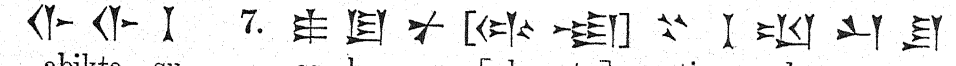
u - sak -ni-sa [a - na niri] ya U - ai - te - eh

I subjugated [to] my [yoke]. Vaiteh



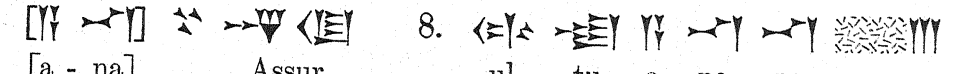
[ṣar A- ri] - bi sa ina ki - bit Assur va Istar

king of Arabia, of whom, by command of Assur and Ishtar,



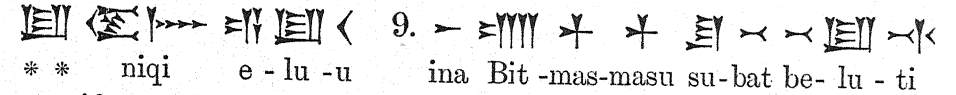
abikta su as - ku - nu [ul - tu] mati su al - qa su

his overthrow I had accomplished; [from] his country I brought him



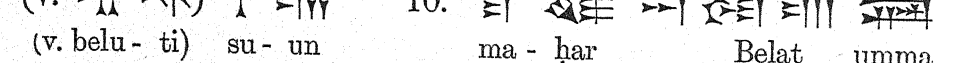
[a - na] Assur ul - tu a - na na * * *

*[to] Assyria. When to * * *



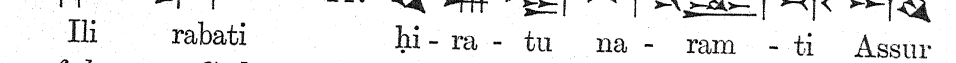
* * niqi e - lu -u ina Bit -mas-masu su-bat be- lu - ti

sacrifices and libations I had offered up in Bitmasmasu, the seat of



(v. belu - ti) su - un ma - ḥar Belat umma

their power, before Belat, mother



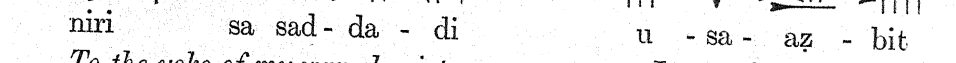
Ili rabati ḥi - ra - tu na - ram - ti Assur

of the great Gods, beloved wife of Assur,



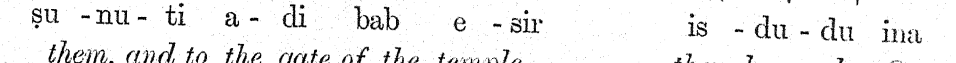
e - pu su [a] - di Ili Bit - id - ki - id

I had made to the Gods of Bitidkid.



niri sa sad - da - di u - sa - aẓ - bit

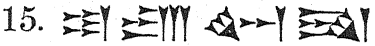
To the yoke of my war chariot I caused to fasten

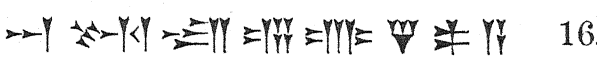


ṣu -nu - ti a - di bab e - sir is - du - du ina

them, and to the gate of the temple they dragged. On


sitti ya al-bi-in ap-pi
my feet I made invocation,

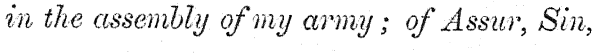
15. 
at-ta-hi-id
I glorified

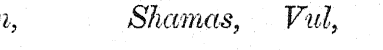

Ilu-uṣ-ṣu-un u-sa-pa-a
their divinity, I praised

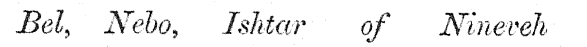
16. 
dan-nu-uṣ-ṣu-un
their power,

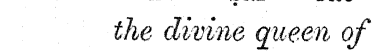

ina puḫri umman ya ša Assur Sin
in the assembly of my army; of Assur, Sin,

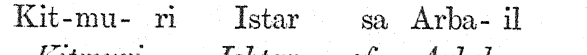
17. 
Samas Vul
Shamas, Vul,

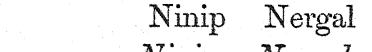

Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua
Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh

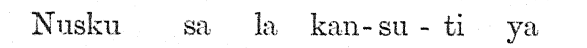
18. 
Il šar-rat
the divine queen of

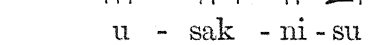

Kit-mu-ri Istar sa Arba-il
Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela,

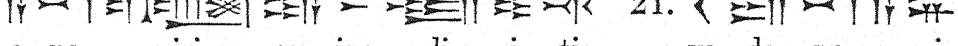
19. 
Ninip Nergal
Ninip, Nergal


Nusku sa la kan-su-ti ya
and Nusku, who the unsubmissive to me,

20. 
u-sak-ni-su
subjugated

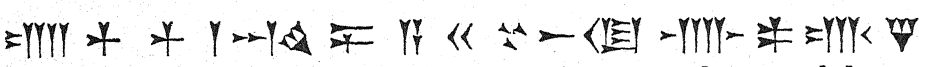

a-na niri ya ina li-i-ti
to my yoke, and in glory

21. 
va da-na-a-ni
and power


u-sa-zi-zu in-ni ṣir nakiri ya
established me over my enemies.

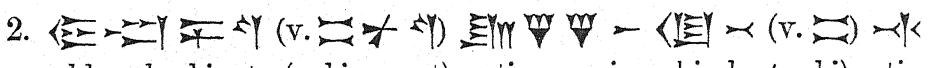
CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, VOL. II, PAGE 66.

1. 
A-na Belat be-lit matati a-si-bat
To Beltis Goddess of the earth, dwelling in



Bit -mas-masu Assur-bani-pal ṣar Assur rubu pa-luḥ sa

Bitmasmasu, Assurbanipal king of Assyria, the prince her worshipper,



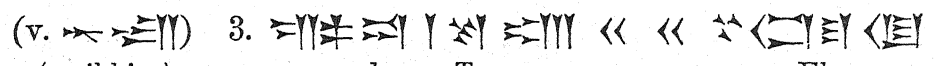
2. sakkanaku binut (v. bi-nu-ut) qati sa sa ina ki-be (v. bi)-ti

the high priest, the work of her hands, who by her great



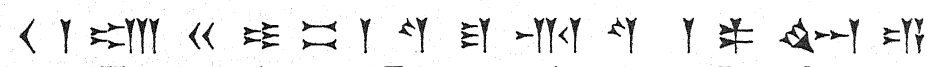
sa rab-tu ina qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi ik-ki-ṣu

command, in the midst of war had cut off



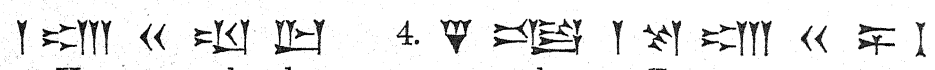
(v. ikkiṣu) 3. qaqqadu Te-um-man ṣar Elam

the head of Teumman king of Elam.



va Um-man-i-gas Tam-ma-ri-tu Pa-he-e

And Ummanigas, Tammaritu, Pahe,



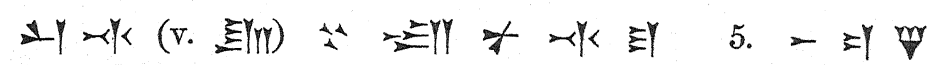
Um-man-al-das 4. sa arku Te-um-man epusu

and Ummanaldas, who after Teumman ruled



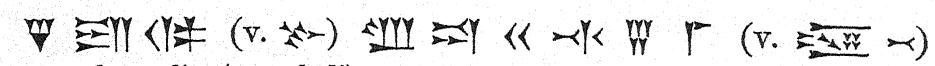
(v. e-pu-su) ṣaru-ut Elam ina tugul-ti sa rab-tu

the kingdom of Elam; in her great service



qa-ti (v. qati) iksud ṣu-nu-ti va 5. ina iz-sa

my hands captured them, and to my war



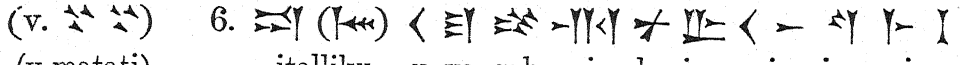
sa-da-di (v. sadadi) ru-du ṣaru-ti ya aẓbat (v. aẓ-bat)

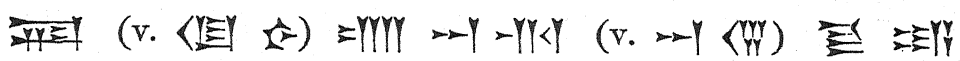
chariot, my royal carriage, I fastened

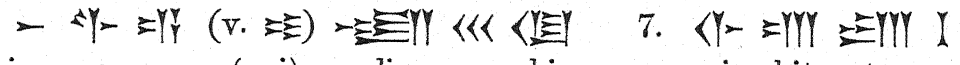


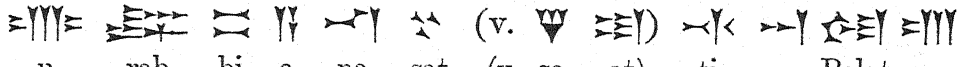
ṣu-nu-ti va ina zik-ri sa kab-ti ina kul-lat matati

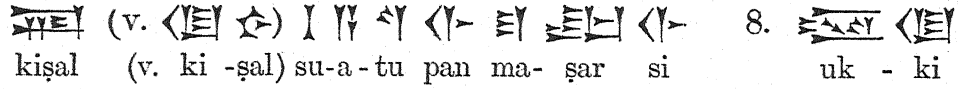
them. And in her grand might, in all countries

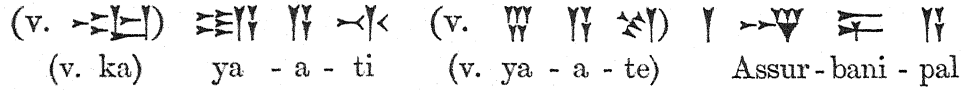

(v. matati) italliku -u va gab- ri la isu -u ina im - mi su
I have marched, and a rival I have not. In those days

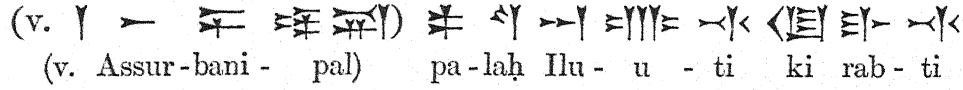

kiṣal (v. ki - ṣal) bit Istar (v. Istar) belat ya
the altar of the house of Ishtar my lady,

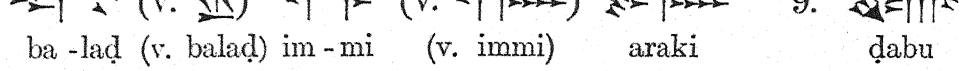

ina pe - e (v. i) - li es - ki si - kit - ta su
of marble I carved its sculpture;


u - rab - bi a - na sat (v. sa - at) - ti Belat
I set it up to please Beltis.


kiṣal (v. ki -ṣal) su-a - tu pan ma- ṣar si uk - ki
That altar before its sanctuary(?) I placed.


(v. ka) ya - a - ti (v. ya - a - te) Assur - bani - pal
To me, Assurbanipal,


(v. Assur - bani - pal) pa - laḫ Ilu - u - ti ki rab - ti
worshipping thy great divinity,


ba - laḳ (v. balaḳ) im - mi (v. immi) araki ḳabu
[give] health, long days, and sound


lib - bi ki - bi - is va ittaliku Bit - mas - masu
heart, worshipping and going to Bitmasmasu,


lu - lab - bi - ra sepa - ai
may my feet grow old.

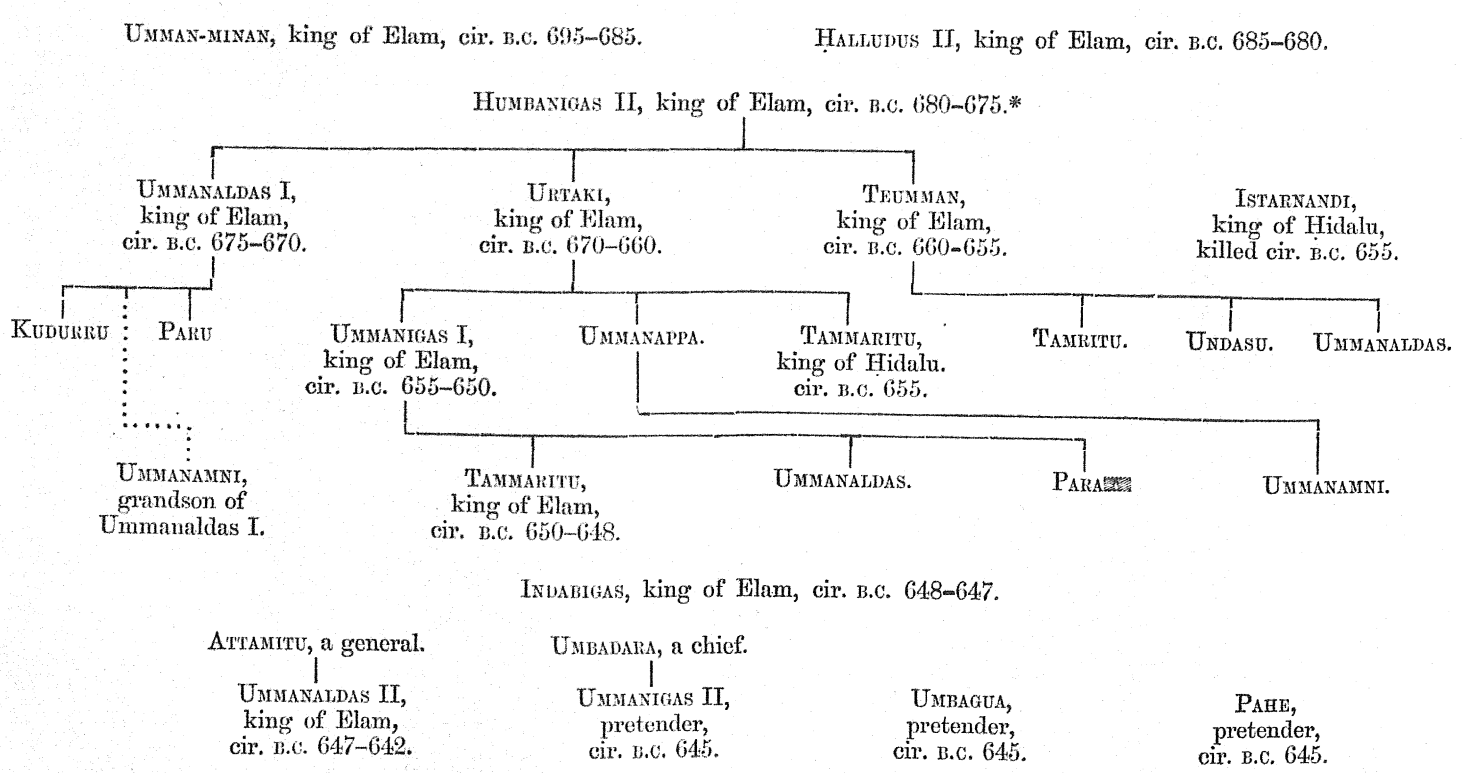
The principal political event mentioned in this division is the capture of Ummanaldas king of Elam. After the destruction of Shushan, Ummanaldas remained a fugitive in the mountains, while Assurbanipal held possession of the country. He ultimately fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and was sent to Nineveh, at which place Tammaritu and Pahe his rivals, and Vaiteh king of Arabia, were then in captivity. According to Cylinder A* these four captive kings were fastened to the yoke of the royal chariot, and drew Assurbanipal to the gate of the temple of Nineveh. Similar barbarous triumphs are related of other conquerors of antiquity.

I have supposed, from a fragment of an unpublished tablet, that Assurbanipal afterwards restored Ummanaldas, and that the Elamite monarch revolted, and was again conquered by Assurbanipal; but this is very doubtful.

As this division closes the campaigns of Assurbanipal, I here give a table of the later royal families of Elam, so far as we know them from the inscriptions.

* The Memorial Slab gives the four Elamite kings, Ummanigas, Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas, as the captives who were yoked to the chariot; but Ummanigas had been dead some years, so that Cylinder A must be more correct, in giving Tammaritu, Pahe and Ummanaldas the Elamites, and Vaiteh the Arabian.

TABLE OF THE LATER ELAMITE ROYAL FAMILIES.



* This Monarch is doubtful.

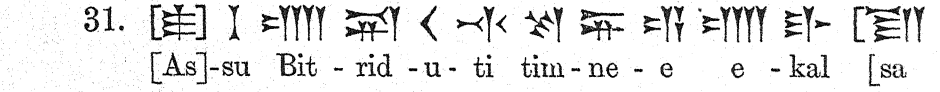
PART XIV.

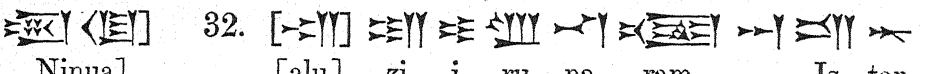
The Buildings of Assurbanipal.

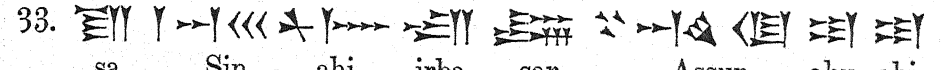
TEXTS.

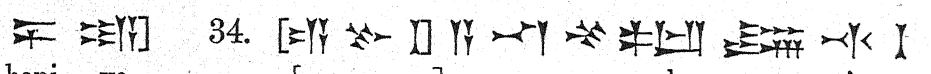
The most perfect texts relating to Assurbanipal's buildings are Cylinder A, col. x, lines 31 to 110, and an Extract from col. x, Cylinder D. There are several other texts, but they are in a very mutilated condition.

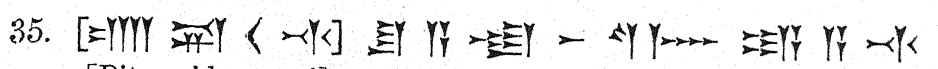
Cylinder A, Column 10.

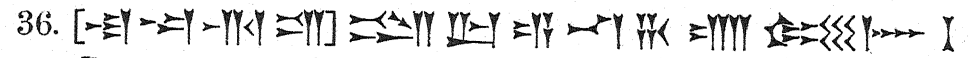
31. 
[As]-su Bit - rid - u - ti tim - ne - e e - kal [sa
Now Bitriduti, the private(?) palace of


Ninua] [alu] ṣi - i - ru na - ram Is - tar
Nineveh, the grand city, the delight of Ishtar;

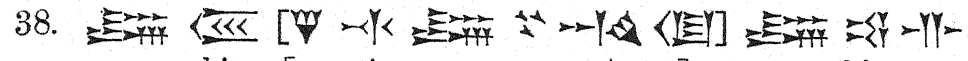
33. 
sa Sin - aḫi - irba ṣar Assur abu abi
which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather


bani ya [e - pu - su] a - na mu - sab ṣaru - ti su
my begetter built for his royal seat;

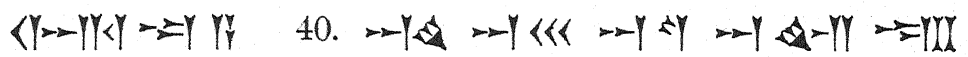
35. 
[Bit - rid - u - ti] su - a - tu ina immi ya - a - ti
that Bitriduti in my days

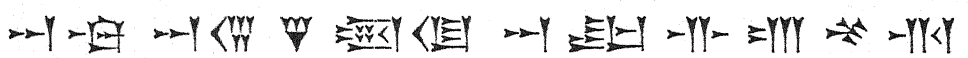
36. 
[la - ba - ri - is] il - lik e - na - ḫa igari su
became old, and its chamber-walls decayed.

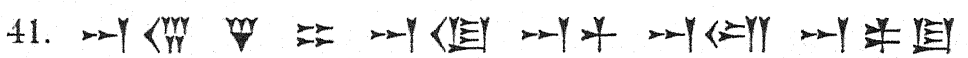
37. 
a - na - ku Assur-bani-pal [ṣar] rab - u ṣar dan - nu
I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king,

38. 
ṣar kis - [sa - ti ṣar Assur] ṣar kip - rat
king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four

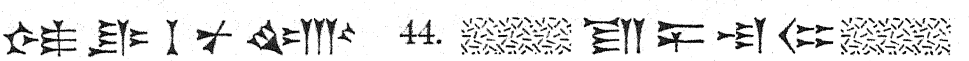

arba - te as-su ki - rib Bit - [rid - u - ti] su - a - tu
regions, within that Bitriduti


ar - ba - a Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel
grew up. Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,

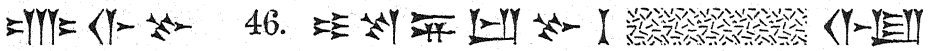

Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il - sar - rat Kit - mu - ri
Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

41. 
Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

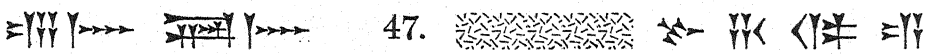
42. 
* * * * abil ṣar - u * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *


ẓu - lul su-nu ḍabu * * * sa kal - la me * * *
their good protection, * * * * * * * * * * *

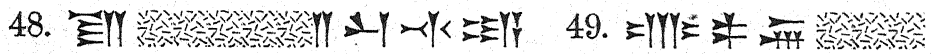
45. 
eli ya [is - ku-nu] ultu ina kuzzu abi bani ya
over me [fixed], when on the throne of the father my begetter



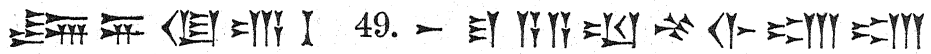
u -si -bu 46. i -te- ni- ib -bu-su * * * * va
I sat. *They were made(?)* * * * * *and*



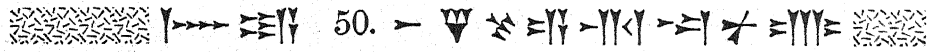
nisi rapsati 47. * * * * pu -ḫa - de - e
many people * * * * * * * * * *



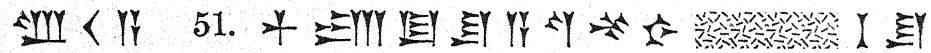
48. sa * * * * * * qa - ti ya 49. u -pa- ṣa * * *
* * * * * * * *my hands* * * * * *



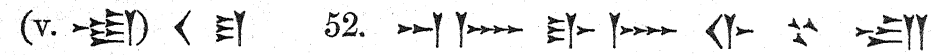
in ni ki - rib su 49. ina ma- ḫa - al mu- si * * * *
me within it. *In all the night* * * * *



* * * * * ya 50. ina sa se e - ri - ba nu- u * *
* * * * * *my* *in* * * * * * * * * * * *



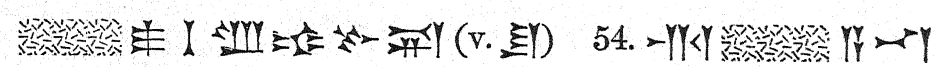
ru -u - a 51. mas- ta -ku su - a -tu mu-sal * * * su su
* * * *that mastaku* * * * * * * *



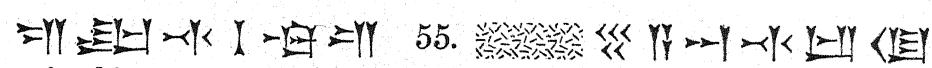
(v. tu) u va 52. Ili rabati si -mat ṣu
* * * * * *the great Gods its account(?) have*



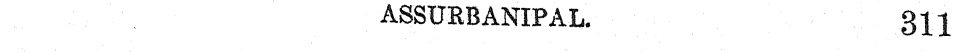
i - sim * * * damqati 53. an - ḫu - uṣ - ṣu
heard(?) * * * *good,* *its decay*



* * * as-su ru - up - pu - us (v. su) 54. ri * * * a- na
* * * *to increase* * * * * *the*



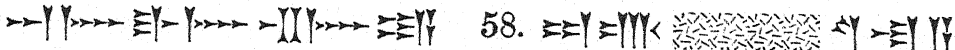
ṣi - ḫir - ti su aq -qur 55. * * * 50 ti - ip - ki
whole of it I destroyed. * * **Fifty* *tipki*


mas-gan si-kit-ti su
the building its sculpture

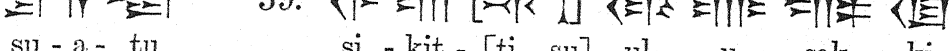
56.
* * * * pi-ti-ig (v. tig)
* * * * *the work*


ud-la [-a su u] -mal-li
of the mound I completed.

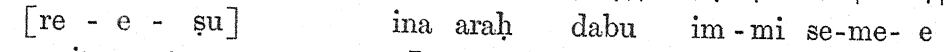
57.
la pa-an es-re-e
Before the temples of


Ili rabati beli ya
the great Gods my lords

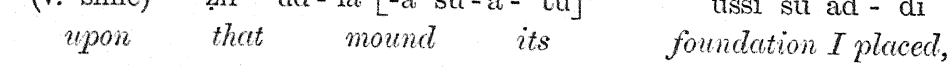
58.
ap-luḫ * * * * ud-la-a
I worshipped. * * * *Of that*


su-a-tu
mound

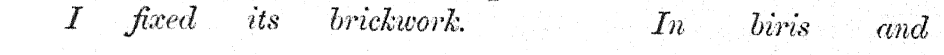
59.
si-kit-[ti su] ul-u-sak-ki
its sculpture(?) I did not cut down


[re-e-ṣu]
its top.

60.
ina araḫ dabu im-mi se-me-e
In a good month and a prosperous day,


(v. sime) ṣir ud-la [-a su-a-tu]
upon that mound its

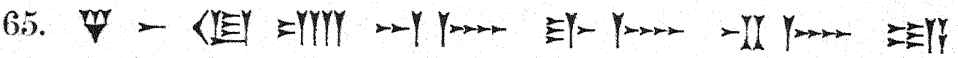
61.
ussi su ad-di
foundation I placed,


u-kin lab-na [-aṣ-ṣu]
I fixed its brickwork.

62.
ina bi-ris va
In biris and

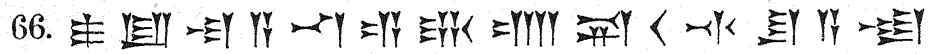

ka-mis pi su ab * * * *
kamis its face I * * * *

63.
am-ḫa-za
I divided


sal-su * * * *
in three(?) * * *

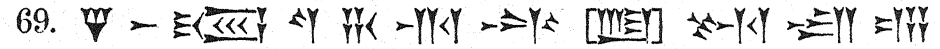
64.
iṅa ṣu-um-bi-i Elam
in chariots of Elam,

65. 
sa ina ki-bit Ili rabati beli ya
which by command of the great Gods my lords

66. 
as - lu - la a - na e - pis Bit - ridu - u - ti su - a - tu
I carried off; to make that Bitriduti,

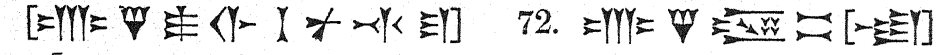
67. 
nisi mati ya ina lib - bi i - ẓab - bi - tu libni su
the people of my country in the midst, took its bricks.

68. 
ṣarri A - ri - bi sa ina a - di - ya iḫ - du - u
The kings of Arabia who against my agreement sinned

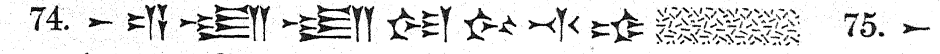
69. 
sa ina qabal tam-ha - ri bal - [ḍu] - uṣ - ṣu - un
whom in the midst of battle alive I had

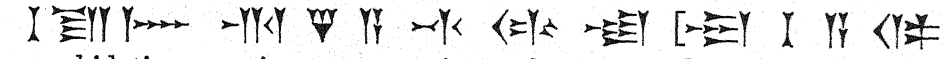

u - ẓab - bi - tu [ina qati] a - na - e - pis
captured [in hand], to make


Bit - ridu-u - ti su - a - tu iz - al - lu mus - sik - ku
that Bitriduti heavy burdens

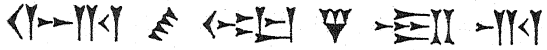

[u - sa - as - si su-nu - ti va] u - sa - aẓ - bi - [tu]
[I caused them to carry, and] I caused them to take


* * * * la - bi - in libni su * * * *
* * * * *building its brickwork* * * * *

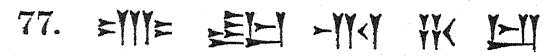
74. 
ina e - li - li nin - gu - ti ub * * * ina
with dancing(?) and music * * * * *with*

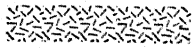
75. 
ḫidati ri - sa - a - ti ul - tu [ussi su a - di
joy and shouting, from [its foundation to


gab - lu - bi su]
its roof]

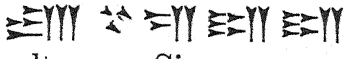
76. 
ar -zip eli sa maḫ - ri
I built. More than before


su * * * * * *
* * * * * *

77. 
u - ṣar - ri - ḫa ip
I extended


* * * *
* * * *

78. 
gusuri erini ṣirati
beams and great planks


ultu Ṣi - ra - ra
from Sirara

79. 
Lab - na - na u - sat- ri -[za
and Lebanon, I fixed

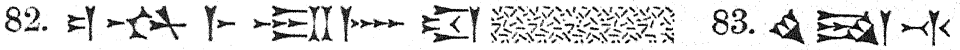

e] - li su
over it.

80. 
dalti li - ya - a - ri sa
Doors of forest trees,

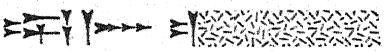

[e - ri - ṣi-] na ḍabu
their wood excellent,

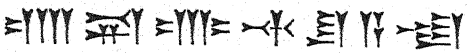
81. 
mi - ṣir kipar
a covering of copper


u -rak - kis [va] u - rat - ta -[a bab] - i su
I spread over, and hung in its gates.


tim -mi ṣirati eru * * * *
Great columns of bronze * * * *

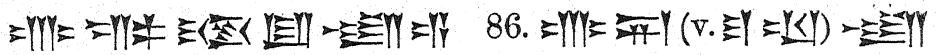
83.
ḫi - it - ti
at the sides


babi * * * * *
of the gates * * * * *

84. 
Bit - rid - u - ti su - a - tu
That Bitriduti,

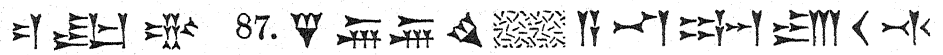

mu - sab [ṣaru - ti ya]
my royal seat,

85. 
a - na ṣi - ḫir - ti su
the whole of it I



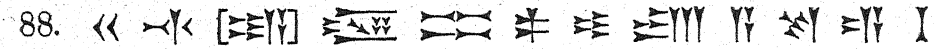
u - sak - lil lu - le - e 86. u - mal (v. ma- al) - li

finished, entirely I completed.



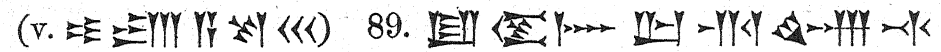
kiri puluq sa ṣa - ṣa - ḥi * * a - na mul - ta -u- ti

*Plantations choice, * * * * * * * for the glory of*



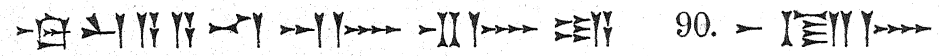
ṣaru- ti [ya] az - qu - pa i - ta - a - te - e - su

my kingdom I planted like walls.



(v. i - ta - a - te - es) * * niqi ur - ri - iḫ - ti

Sacrifices and libations precious



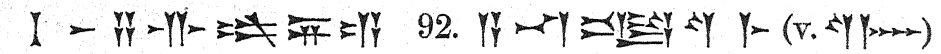
aq - qa - a a - na Ili beli ya 90. ina ḥidati

I poured out to the Gods my lords. With joy and



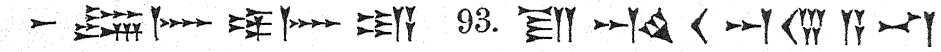
ri - sa - a - ti u - sar - ri su 91. e - ru - ub ki - rib

shouting I completed it, I entered into



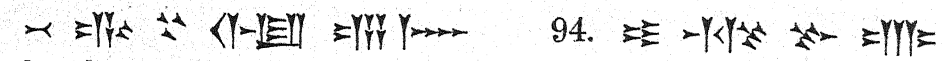
su ina za - rat tak - ne - e 92. a - na arku im - mi (v. immi)

it in a state palaquin (?). To after days,



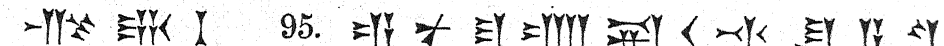
ina ṣarri abli ya 93. sa Assur va Istar a - na

among the kings my sons, whomever Assur and Ishtar to the



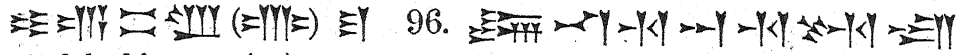
be - lut mati va nisi 94. i - nam - bu - u

dominion of the country and people shall proclaim

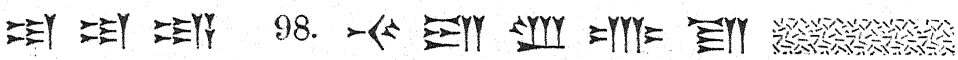


zi - kir su 95. e - nu va Bit - ridu - u - ti su - a - tu

his name; when this Bitriduti becomes

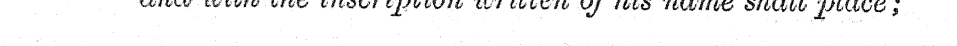

i-lab-bi-ru (-u) va 96. in-na-ḫu an-ḫu-uṣ ṣu
old *and* *decays, its decay he*

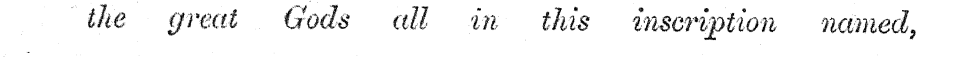

lu-ud-dis 97. mu-ṣar-u ṣi-ḍir sumi ya abi ya
shall repair, *the inscription written of my name my father's and*

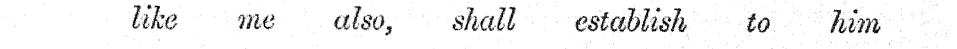

abu abi ya 98. ziru da-ru-u sa * * * *
my grandfather's, *the remote descendant who* * * * *


le (-e)-mur va 99. kiṣal lab-su-us * * niqi akki
shall see, and an altar shall raise, sacrifice and libations shall pour out,

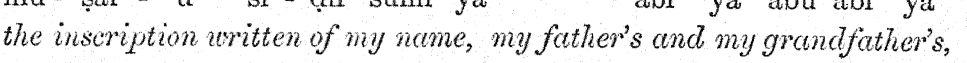

100. it-ti mu-ṣar-e si-ḍir sumi su lis-kun
and with the inscription written of his name shall place;


101. Ili rabati ma-la mu-ṣar-e an-ne-e saḍ-ru
the great Gods all in this inscription named,


102. ki-ma (v. kima) ya-a-ti va lis ru-ku-us
like me also, shall establish to him

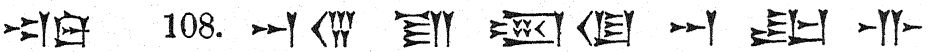

103. da-na-nu va li-i-tu 104. sa
power *and* *glory.* *Whoever*


mu-ṣar-u si-ḍir sumi ya 105. abi ya abu abi ya
the inscription written of my name, my father's and my grandfather's,

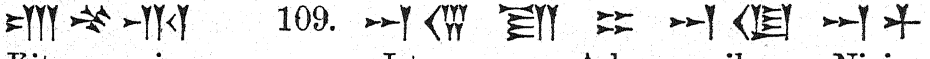

ib-ba-tu 106. it-ti mu-ṣar-i su la
destroys, *and with his inscription does not*


i - sak - ka -nu — 107. Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel

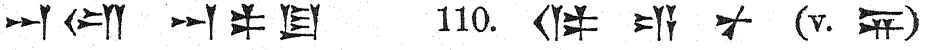
place, — *Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel,*


Nabu — 108. Istar sa Ninua Il ṣar - rat

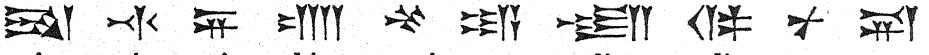
Nabu, — *Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of*


Kit-mu- ri — 109. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip

Kitmuri, — *Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,*


Nergal Nusku — 110. de - e - nu (v. ni)

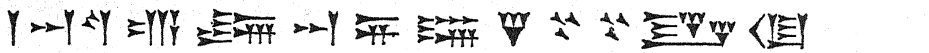
Nergal and Nusku, — *a judgment*


it - ti ni - bit sumi ya li - di - nu - us

equal to the renown of my name, may they pass on him.


Araḥ Nisannu immi 1 — 112. lim - mu

Month Nisan, — 1*st day,* — *eponym*

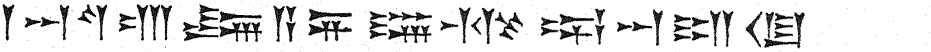

Samas - da - in - an - ni sa-nat Akkadi

Shamasdainani — *prefect of* — *Akkad.*

DATE ON ANOTHER COPY.

a. 
Araḥ Ululu immi 28 — *b.* lim - mi

Month Elul, — 28*th day,* — *eponym*


Samas - da - in - a - ni sanat Bab - ili

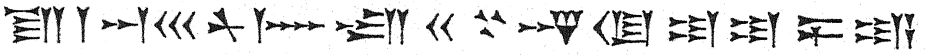
Shamasdainani — *prefect of* — *Babylon.*

Fragment of Column X, Cylinder D. On the Repair of the Wall of Nineveh.

a. 

Ina im - mi su va dur qabal alu sa Ninua

In those days, the wall round the city of Nineveh,

b. 

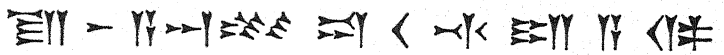
sa Sin - aḫi - irba ṣar Assur abu abi bani ya

which Sennacherib king of Assyria the grandfather begetting me,



e - pu - su

had made;

c. 

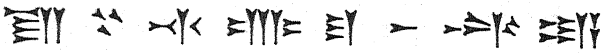
sa ina zunni daḫ - du - u - ti ra - a - di

which by copious rains and swelling



gab - su - u - ti

floods,

d. 

sa san - ti sam - ma ina pal - ya

which every year in my time,



Vul u - maḍ - ḍi - ra ina mati ya [tim - mi] - in

Vul poured down on my country; its foundation



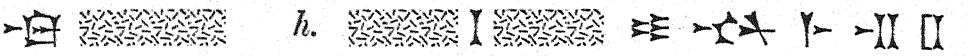
su ir * * ub va i - qu - pa ri - sa - a su * * * *

had decayed and its top fallen in * * * *



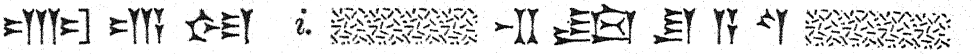
la - ba - ris illiku * * * su [tim - me - en] ad - ki

old it had become * * * * *[the foundation] I put*



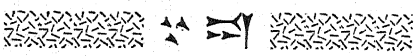
ak * * * * * * * * * i tim - me - en [su

together * * * * * * * * *its foundation I*



u] - dan - nin [tim - me] - en dur su - a - tu * * *

strengthened, the foundation of that wall * * *

j. 

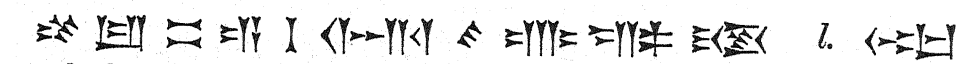
* * * sad-du * * *

* * * * * * * *

k. 

[ul - tu ussi su a - di]

from its foundation



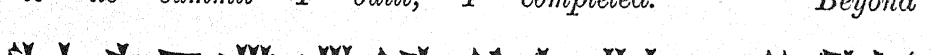
gab - lu - be - e su ar -zip u - sak - lil

to its summit I built, I completed.

l.

eli

Beyond



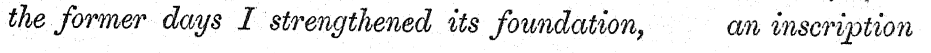
im - mi pa - ni u -dan - nin tim -me- en su

the former days I strengthened its foundation,

m.

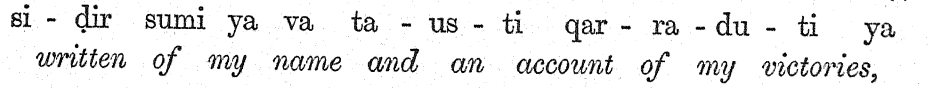
mu- ṣar - u

an inscription



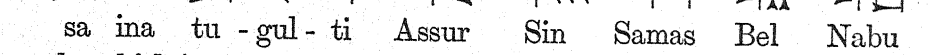
si - ḍir sumi ya va ta - us - ti qar - ra - du - ti ya

written of my name and an account of my victories,

n. 

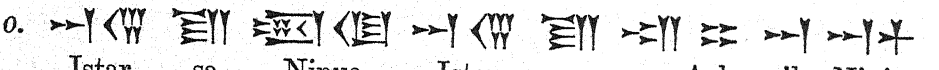
sa ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin Samas Bel Nabu

by which in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel, Nabu,

o. 

Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba- il Ninip

Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,



Nusku Nergal

Nusku and Nergal,

p.

ina matati at - tal - la - ku as - ku - nu

in the countries I had marched through I had



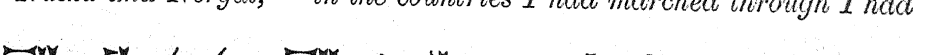
da - na - nu va li - i - tu

established power and glory;

q.

as - ḍur va a - na

I wrote, and to



aḥ - rat im - mi e - zib, &c.

after days I left, &c.

Bitriduti, which was probably a name for the harem of the king, is the northern palace at Kouyunjik, from which the fragments of

Cylinder A and its duplicates were brought. Unfortunately all the texts relating to the buildings of Assurbanipal are very mutilated, and most of them are not worth publishing. Besides those given here, the two principal texts are—the first column of Cylinder C, published in a mutilated form in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. III, page 27 (since the publication of these fragments, I have completed a considerable part of the text from duplicates); and the last part of K, 2675, which gives the rebuilding of the temple of the moon at Harrau.

PART XV.

Later Notices of his Reign, and Sketch of the Chronology.

The later notices of the reign of Assurbanipal are few—they are confined to some references on the later Eponym Tablets, passages on 48.7–20.119 and 48.11–4.282, and the Genealogies in the Inscriptions of his son Assur-ebil-ili-(kainni). One of the latter inscriptions is published in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. I, p. 8, No. 3, and another in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. III, p. 16, No. 2.

Only one historical point of any importance results from these fragmentary notices. It appears from 48.11–4.282, that the Assyrians still retained possession of Babylonia after the death of Assurbanipal. The chronology of the reign of Assurbanipal is imperfect, from two causes—first, the fragmentary state of that part of the eponym canon which refers to this reign; and second, because the arrangement of the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal appears to be geographical rather than chronological. The eponym canon, which is perfect from the reign of Tugulti Ninip II to the third eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, there breaks off, and there is more or less uncertainty about all the names and fragments below this date.

The fragments of the eponym canon belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal, are as follows:—

a. Part of Canon 1 (restored), the dates attached to these names are satisfactorily established—

, Marlarmi, B.C. 668.

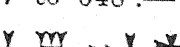
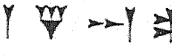
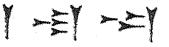
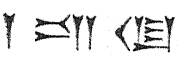
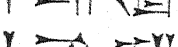
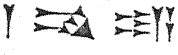
, Gabbaru, ,, 667.

, Ḍebitai ,, 666.

b. Part of Canon I (restored). The position and dates of these eponymes are uncertain; there were probably two names between *a* and *b*:—

	Bel-nahid,	B.C. 663(?)
	Ḍabu-sar-ṣin,	,, 662(?)
	Arbailai,	,, 661(?)
	Girzabuna,	,, 660(?)
	Ṣilim-assur,	,, 659(?)

c. Part of Canon III, which I should judge to extend from B.C. 657 to 648:—

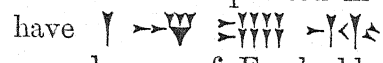
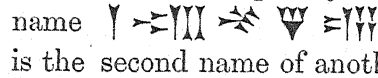
	Sa-nabu-su,	B.C. 657(?)
	Labaṣi,	,, 656(?)
	Milki-ramu,	,, 655(?)
	Amyanu,	,, 654(?)
	Assur-nazir,	,, 653(?)
	Assur-ilai,	,, 652(?)
	Assur-dur-uzur,	,, 651(?)
	Ṣagabbu,	,, 650(?)
	Bel-ḥarran-sadua,	,, 649(?)
	Aḥi-ilai,	,, 648(?)

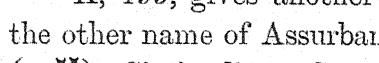
With Aḥi-ilai ends Canon III, and although we have more than twenty names of later eponymes, we have no means at present of arranging them in chronological order. The eponym in whose year of office Cylinder B was written probably comes next, the name is , Bel-sunu, B.C. 647(?); and the governor of Samaria, , Nabu-ṣar-aḥi-su, probably succeeded in B.C. 646. The eponymy of Samas-dain-ani, in which Cylinder A is dated, was probably about B.C. 640, but we cannot even conjecture the dates of the others.

Samaria in the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon was still ruled by kings, and the fact of an Assyrian governor and eponym

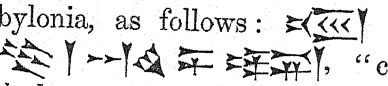
ruling at Samaria cir. B.C. 646, shows that in the interval, Samaria had been incorporated into the Assyrian empire, instead of being only under tribute.

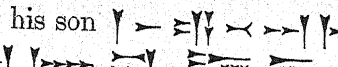
It seems on consideration of the foregoing campaigns, that the arrangement of the narratives is rather geographical than historical; but, as we have no other guide, we must assume that the principal events happened in something like the order in which we find them recorded. The first campaign, which was directed against Tirhakah, must have taken place at or near the commencement of Assurbanipal's reign, about B.C. 668 or 667; but we have no means of fixing the date of the second expedition, which was directed against Urdamane. The third campaign, directed against Tyre, is still more doubtful, and we have no knowledge of the length of time the city was besieged. I am even inclined to think that the investment of the city was commenced by Esarhaddon when he started on his Egyptian expedition, and that the city was besieged for some years. My reasons for this opinion are founded on a fragment at the British Museum, which I think belongs to Esarhaddon, and which states that the city of Tyre was besieged on the tenth expedition of the king; it afterwards mentions that he went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or Upper Egypt). On the other hand, some of the events mentioned under the third expedition in Cylinder A (the revolt of Psammitichus, death of Gyges, and submission of Ardys), which are not in the earlier copies (Cylinders B and C), evidently belong to a much later period in the history. These events are out of place attached to the third campaign, because in the next campaign (the fourth expedition of Cylinder B) the conquered people were transported to Egypt, which shows that Psammitichus had not yet revolted. We have no clue to the dates of the other expeditions, until we come to the revolt of Saulmugina. According to the dated tablets this rebellion commenced in the eponymy of Assurduruzur, and continued during the eponymies of his two successors, Sagab and Bilharransadua. We have no positive evidence of the date of the close of the revolt, but it was probably crushed in the eponymy of Ahiilai. Now these four eponymes are the last names in Canon III, and probably extended from B.C. 651 to 648.

It is evident that Assurbanipal reigned for some years after the last events mentioned in his annals, but the history of this period is unknown. One of the most important points connected with the latter part of his reign is the question of the government of Babylonia. Ptolemy's Canon gives after Saosduchin or Saulmugina, *Ἰσινιλαδάνου* or *Κινηλαδάνου*, with a reign of twenty-two years. These forms are corruptions of some Assyrian name, and several conjectures have been hazarded as to their origin, but it has not hitherto been discovered, and I was in ignorance of it myself until this sheet was in the press. I now find from the tablet K, 195, that this was a name of Assurbanipal. I have long known that the later Assyrian monarchs sometimes bore two names, one instance of this custom is printed in Cuneif. Inscrip. Vol. III, p. 16, where we have , Assur-ebil-mukin-pal, the second name of Esarhaddon; the tablet was inscribed in the reign of Sennacherib (the father of Esarhaddon), who writes as follows: "To Assur-aḥ-iddina (Esarhaddon) my son, whom afterwards Assur-ebil-mukin-pal by name I called." Another instance is the name , Bel-sum-iskun, or Bel-zikir-iskun; this is the second name of another late Assyrian king, either Shalmaneser or Sargon, probably the latter. In an enumeration of Assyrian monarchs Bel-zikir-iskun comes between Tiglath Pileser and Ṣennacherib. This custom of having two names may account for two facts, the absence of the name of Pul in our present Assyrian inscriptions, and the name of Sennacherib in Canon III, which is Assur-aḥi-iriba instead of Sin-ahi-iriba.

K, 195, gives another illustration of this practice, as it records the other name of Assurbanipal, which is  (v.), Sin-inadina-pal (v. pal). I have already given inscriptions (pp. 4 to 13) which state that Esarhaddon associated his son Assurbanipal with himself on the throne; in accordance with that fact there are several tablets of the reign of Esarhaddon in which Assurbanipal's name is joined with his own in adoration to the deity Shamas. On most of these tablets the name of Assurbanipal is written as usual, but on one of them (K, 195) the name is twice given Sininadinapal; and it is easy to see that the first part of this name, Sininadina, is the origin of Isiniladanus, the only material change

being the alteration of the Assyrian *n* into the Greek *l*, a change which has been made likewise in several Babylonian names; thus the Greeks often turned the name of the god Nabu into Labo or Laby, (as in Nabonidus or Labynetus).

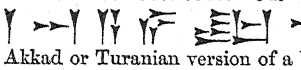
The following is a translation of an extract from Esarhaddon's tablet (K, 195): "Sin-inadina-pal son of Assur-aḫ-iddina, king of Assyria, whose name on this tablet is inscribed, to the Government in the earth, in the presence of thy great divinity Shamas great lord, he is proclaimed and established." The statement here that Sininadina-pal was proclaimed to the government shows him to be the same as Assurbanipal whom Esarhaddon joined with himself in the government. If Sininadinapal be the same as Assurbanipal king of Assyria, and the Isiniladanus king of Babylon of Ptolemy, then we ought to find inscriptions of Assurbanipal claiming the crown of Babylon; and accordingly we have on K, 3079, the mutilated titles of Assurbanipal as king of Babylonia; the translation is as follows: "Assurbanipal, the great king, king of nations, king of Assyria [king of] the four [regions], [high priest of Bab]-ili (Babylon), [king of Sumir and] Akkad (Upper and Lower Babylonia), [son of Assur]-ahi-iddina, [king of nations, king] of Assyria, [son of Sin]-ahi-iriba, [king of nations, king] of Assyria." The same text probably formed the heading of Cylinder C. We have beside a regnal date of Assurbanipal on a contract tablet from the city of Warka in Babylonia, as follows: , "city of Erech (Warka), month Nisan, 20th day, 20th year of Assurbanipal."

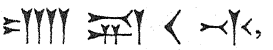
The fact that Samas-dain-ani, prefect of Babylon, took his turn as eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, also goes to prove the same point. The identification of Assurbanipal with the Kineladanus or Isiniladanus of Ptolemy shows us that Assurbanipal reigned forty-two years, and died in the year B.C. 626, when he was succeeded by his son  Assur-ebil-ili, or , Assur-ebil-ili-kainni, of whose history we know nothing. It is generally supposed that under him the Assyrian empire was overthrown.

NOTES, ADDITIONS, AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE

2. The name of Assurbanipal.

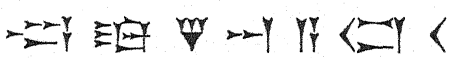
I have overlooked one form of the name of Assurbanipal, namely, . This is found in the Akkad or Turanian version of a bilingual tablet (K, 4933). This text is instructive, as it was evidently composed in the time of Assurbanipal, and shows that the Akkad form of writing was used for the composition of texts as late as the middle of the 7th century B.C.

„ , Bit-riduti.

The first character in this name signifies "house," the second "phallus;" it probably meant "the harem." The first character  was very likely sounded E, as in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 2, No. ccclxiv, and the whole name E-riduti. It was probably the palace of Evorita, in which the last king of Nineveh burnt himself.

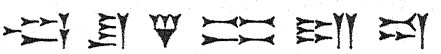
4. Cylinder A, col. i, line 12, &c.

In this passage and several other places we have allusion to the Assyrian calendar and feasts. I have put together at the Museum a series of tablets (at present unpublished), giving a complete calendar, and in illustration of these passages, I will give a sketch of it. First, each month had a presiding deity or deities; these were:—

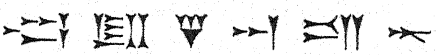
, Month Nisan of Anu and Bel.

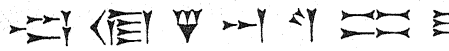
, Month Iyyar of Hea, lord of mankind.

, Month Sivan of Sin, eldest son of Bel.

, Month Tammuz of the warrior Ninip.

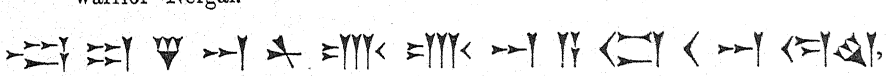
, Month Ab of the mistress * * * *

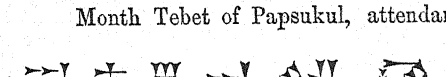
, Month Elul of Ishtar, mistress * * * *

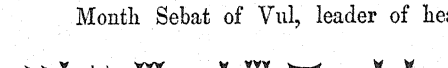
, Month Tisri of Shamas, warrior of the universe.

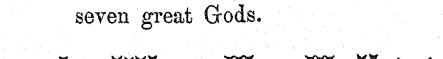
, Month Marchesvan of the ruler of all the Gods, Merodach.

, Month Kislev of the great warrior Nergal.

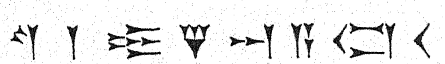
, Month Tebet of Papsukul, attendant of Anu and Ishtar.

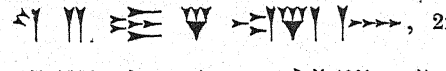
, Month Sebat of Vul, leader of heaven and earth.

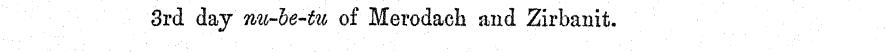
, Month Adar of the seven great Gods.

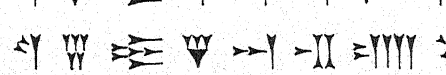
, Month Veadar of Assur, father of the Gods.

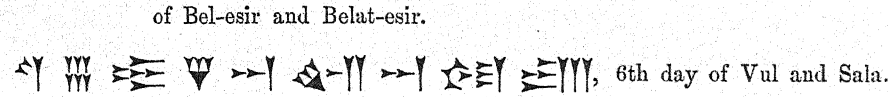
Each day of the month was a festival to a particular deity or deities, and this succession of festivals was the same in each month, so that a list of the daily festivals of one month answers for all the months of the year; these festivals are as follows (I have only transcribed the names of the festivals) :—

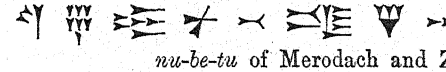
, 1st day of Anu and Bel.

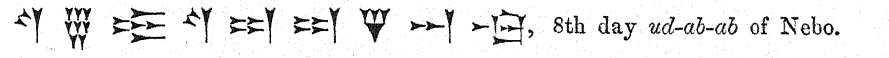
, 2nd day of the Goddesses.

, 3rd day *nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

, 4th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

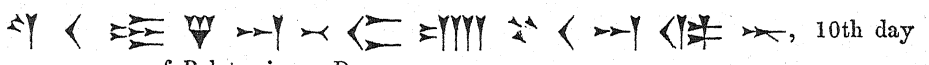
, 5th day of Bel-esir and Belat-esir.

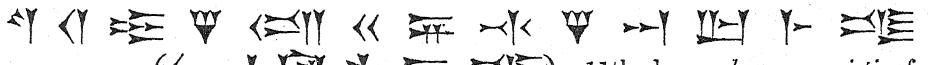
, 6th day of Vul and Sala.

, 7th day *nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

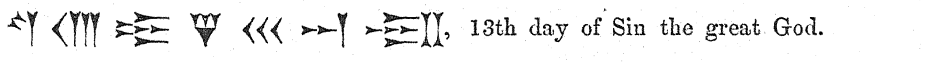
, 8th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

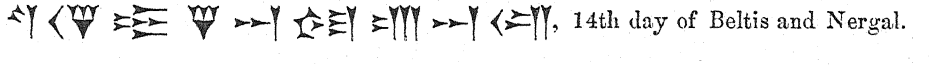
, 9th day of Ninip and Gula.

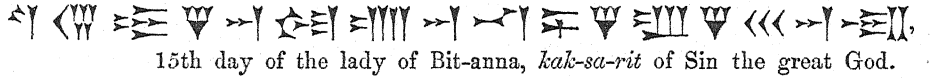

10th day of Belat-esir va Dayan.


11th day *sa-lam-man-ni-ti* of Urmit and Zirpanit.

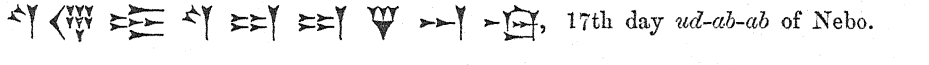

12th day *se-sa* of Bel and Beltis.

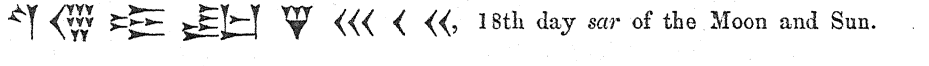

13th day of Sin the great God.

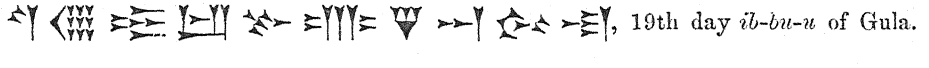

14th day of Beltis and Nergal.

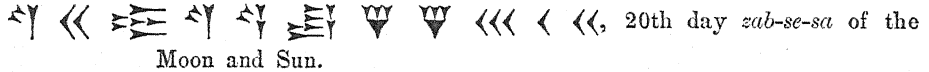

15th day of the lady of Bit-anna, *kak-sa-rit* of Sin the great God.

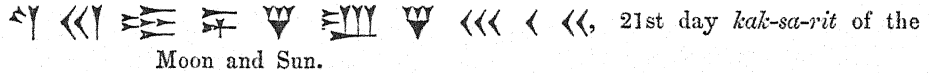

16th day *nu-be-tu* of (Merodach and) Zirpanit.

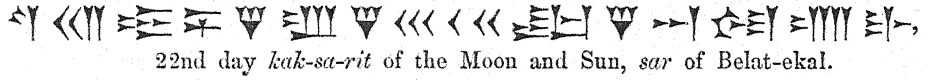

17th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

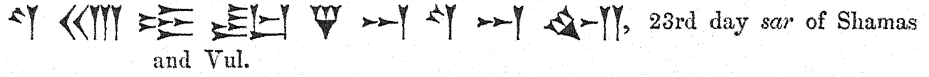

18th day *sar* of the Moon and Sun.


19th day *ib-bu-u* of Gula.

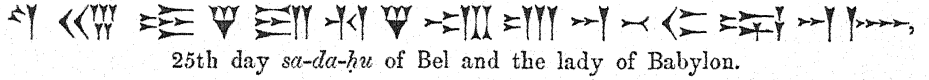

20th day *zab-se-sa* of the Moon and Sun.

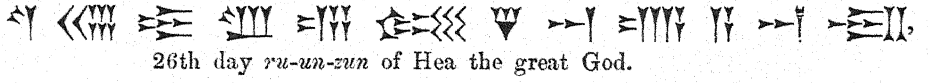

21st day *kak-sa-rit* of the Moon and Sun.


22nd day *kak-sa-rit* of the Moon and Sun, *sar* of Belat-ekal.

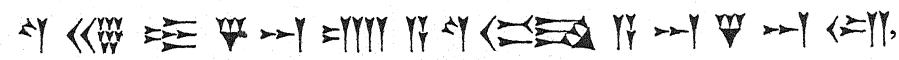

23rd day *sar* of Shamas and Vul.


24th day of Bel-ekal and Belat-ekal.

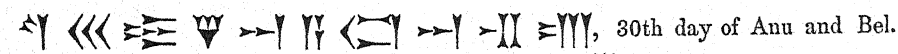

25th day *sa-da-ḫu* of Bel and the lady of Babylon.


26th day *ru-un-zun* of Hea the great God.


27th day *mi-lab-ta* of Nergal, *sar* of Uk(?).

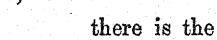

28th day of Hea *bunnu* of Nergal.


29th day *bunnu* of Sin, day angels and spirits are invoked.


30th day of Anu and Bel.

Each day was also  a lucky day, or  an unlucky day; and the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days were called , which is explained in a bilingual fragment as  "su-lū" or "su-lum," Hebrew שַׁלְוָה and שָׁלוֹם, meaning "rest." The calendar contains lists of works forbidden to be done on these days, which evidently correspond to the sabbaths of the Jews. The 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month, correspond with the four quarters of the moon in the lunar calendar, and, like the Jewish sabbaths, occurred after intervals of six days; but I cannot find any reason why the 19th day of the month was also a day of rest.

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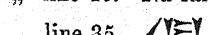
5, line 15. "Kitmuri" was the name of the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh; on K, 11, there is the variant reading , Bit-kidimuri.

„ line 20. Read "arka-nu" for "arku-nu."

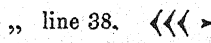
„ line 24. Restoration doubtful.

7, line 39. I-na-ru, "they destroyed."

„ line 40. Na-ram, "the delight."

„ line 35. , kibit, "will" or "command."

Mr. Norris, in Dict. p. 527, makes this word "honour," or "glory," and allies it with "kabtu" and "kabittu;" but "kibit" in the bilingual texts is the equivalent of the Akkad  "to speak." It is always to be distinguished from kabtu and its allied words by the first vowel, which is "i" in kibit, and "a" in kabtu. Kibit comes from gabu, "to speak."

„ line 38. , esreti, "temples."

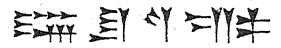
The singular form of this word I now believe to be , "esir," which I have always translated "temple."

8, lines 46 to 48. Very difficult passage.

It evidently indicates a year of plenty, when Assurbanipal came to the throne; I would suggest as a better reading, "fivefold (v. fourfold) the seed was fruitful in its growing, ears three times the size, the crops were excellent, the corn abundant, my mouth relates it, the growing of fruit."

9, line 5. , the reading  "ka-ra-si" is given on some unpublished bilingual fragments; it might have been inferred from a comparison of Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. I, p. 42, line 28, and p. 46, line 52.

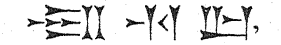
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9, line 6.  means a "general" or "superior officer."

I have been in doubt as to the phonetic reading, and have given it in different places "sutsaki" and "ummati," perhaps both wrong. , "sak," means an "officer," and , "su-par," means "top or over," so that the reading may be "supar-saki," "one over the officers."

17, line 69. , "murranu" or "ḫarranu," a "march" or "road."

I have uniformly given the sound "murranu" to this word, but the town bearing this name was certainly "Ḫarran," and the examples given by Mr. Norris, Dict. p. 445, are in favour of "ḫar" for the first character.

19, line 87. , doubtful word. , which I have here translated "advance," probably means "fear."

„ line 88. Doubtful passage. See p. 180, line 110.

23, line 117. Read "mas-gan-i" for "mas-gar-i." Heb. מִשְׁכָּן.

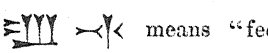
„ line 124. "Ina a-di-ya iḫ-ḍu-u," "against my agreement sinned."

24, line 1. .

I have given the form "seme" as the rendering; it is more probably "semat," as prefixed to a root appears to indicate a form ending in a servile "t."

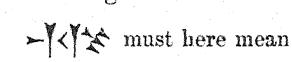
„ line 6. "Mi-i-nu," "are numbered."

27, line 36. The following would be a better translation of this passage: "an agreement stronger than before I caused to restore, and with him I made."

28, line 38.  means "feet," but the phonetic value is uncertain; my reading, "sanguti," was founded on a passage in Cuneif. Inscr., Vol III, p. 15, col. i, but I now think "sitti" the correct reading.

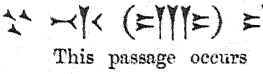
„ line 39. "Gir parzil sibbi" indicates a "straight sword," and not a "scimitar."

„ line 47. I doubt if "Nebosezibani" was son of "Necho," but cannot suggest any other reading.

29, line 52.  must here mean a "region" or "place." See a parallel passage in Layard's Insc., p. 95, line 152.

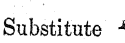
34, line 9. Ṣi-ḫir-ti.

This word is from the same root as paḫir, the *p* and *ṣ* frequently interchanging in Assyrian.

35, line 16. .

This passage occurs several times, and I have been very uncertain as to its meaning, principally from not knowing which of the phonetic values of  ought to be adopted here. sometimes reads "*mat-ti*," "of a country," and at times "*san-ti*," "of a year" or "yearly." My latest opinion on this subject I have given in p. 317, line *d*.

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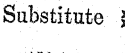
37, line 9. Substitute  for in "yapi;" this word is found in three forms, "yati," "yapi," and "yasi."

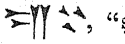
38, line 11. Read "ṣi" for "si" in al-si-ma; it is doubtful if the "ma" belongs to this word.

40, line 24. Buṣṣurat; see Heb. בשר.

„ line 28. "Ḫul-lu-uq," "to cut off."

42, line 34. Substitute "ṣun" for "sun."

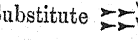
„ line 37. Substitute  for in "i-na-kit-u."

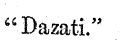
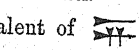
45, line 55. , "ṣimat," appears to mean anything fabricated; the root is סמן.

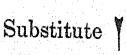
54, line 75. .

Certainly denotes a female, and is equated with , but I have no faith in the value "sin-nis," which I have here adopted.

59. The passage in the addition to line 88, "their mouth drank," is literally "to their mouth it drank."

„ line 89. Substitute  for , in "nap-sat," and read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."

61, line 105. "Dazati." In a bilingual list I find  as an equivalent of , "zalti," "battle" or "fight." I had not noticed this when I translated it "depredations."

„ line 110. Substitute  for at beginning of line.

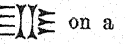
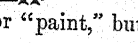
63, line 125. Read "ḫa" for "ha" in ḫa-dis.

67, line 38. Pa-an.

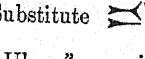
This word, meaning "front" and "before," is often used for "time past."

73, line 4. The passage in brackets has been partially erased by the writer of the inscription.

76, line 28. "Sitkunu subtu," "was situated the seat."

„ line 31.  on a bilingual tablet is equated to , "sa-rad;" it is used for "paint," but in this place perhaps means "dyed garments," Heb. שרד.

86, line 66. Read "ṣuqi" for "tarzi."

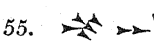
87, line 68. Substitute  for .

„ line 74. "Ubna," meaning very doubtful.

92, line 49. Read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."

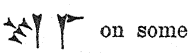
103, line 49. The word "ḫarran," "road," in most similar cases follows "aẓbat;" perhaps it is accidentally omitted here.

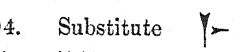
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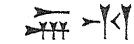
104, line 55. . I have given "sanat an-na" as the reading of this group, but the "anna" may possibly be the phonetic reading of the word; if so, it would read "sanna."

The passage from p. 104, line 58, to p. 105, line 63, present many difficulties, and the present reading can only be considered an approximation.

105, line 70. Read "nam" for "num" in sa-nam-ma.

106, line 71.  on some bilingual tablets is equated with , "gal-lu-u," the name of a class of spirits or genii, generally evil ones.

117, line 94. Substitute , "mi-ri-ḫe-e-ti," for , "mi-mut-e-ti."

„ line 3. , "ṣa-ḫu-u," appears rather to be , "ir-ḫu-u."

The passage from p. 118, line 5, to p. 126, line 79, is full of difficulties, and the translation in several places not to be relied on. By accident I have wrongly translated the monogram  as "ṣit," "rising," it is "erib," "setting;" but I doubt now if is used here as a monogram. It is evident that my translation is wrong in lines 6 to 8, but I do not know what to propose instead.

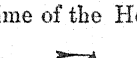
The passage in lines 10 to 13 appears from the sense to refer to the Goddess Ishtar, but the verbs are in the third person masculine, only the pronoun , "sa," at the end, showing the feminine.

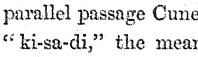
123, line 49. One copy has the variant , "sa-at," for .

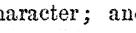
125, line 65. "Kurunnu" I believe to be "wine," from "karanu," a "vine" (see note to p. 267, line 73); Assurbanipal is here told to drink it.

127, line 84, to p. 128, line 93. The junction of the fragmentary texts is not quite certain, and consequently there is some doubt about the reading.

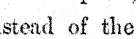
132, line 22. "Na-ganti" I have translated "musical instruments," thinking at the time of the Heb. נְגִינוֹת; this was a mistake, "naganti" means "treasures."

133, line 42. .

I have not recognized the true phonetic reading of this word until my work was completed. A bilingual gives the reading , "ki-sad," and in the parallel passage Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 45, line 51, we have , "ki-sa-di," the meaning is "neck."

135, line 57. . One bilingual gives , "ṣa-ti," for the value of the character; another gives , "ir-ti," which I now find to be the correct form.

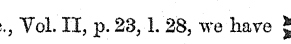
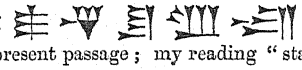
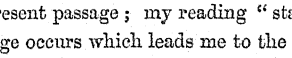
„ line 59. "Kullumi," perhaps here means "to revile."

140, line *h*. "Mitpanu," the Assyrian name of the bow, is here written phonetically instead of the usual ; another instance occurs in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 7, No. ix A.

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145, line 2. "Uẓ-ẓi," "an arrow;" see Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 42, line 57, where we have "mitpanate va uẓẓi," "bows and arrows."

153, line 22. The word "passar" is one of the most difficult in the Assyrian language.

In Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 23, l. 28, we have  equated with , but this does not explain the present passage; my reading "state chairs" is a mere makeshift. In K, 2562, a passage occurs which leads me to the opinion that "passur" was the name of a metal, plate, or dish; the passage is , "In precious dishes precious food eating."

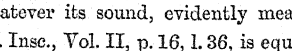
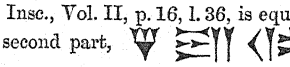
160, line 77. Restoration and reading not quite certain.

„ line 79. "Ke-e;" the translation "only" for this word is doubtful; it may mean "then."

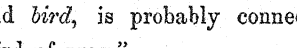
164, line 114. Te-bis-u.

I have some doubt about this word, the Cylinder is fractured here.

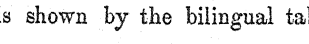
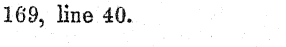
165, line 122. .

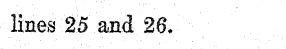
This word, whatever its sound, evidently means "a chariot;" the first part, , in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 16, l. 36, is equated with , "ruk-kip-ta;" the second part, , is probably connected with "is-du-du."

166, line 10. , zibi *bird*, means a "rapacious bird," Heb. צִפּוֹר rapuit.

„ line 11. , id *bird*, is probably connected with the Heb. עַיִט, "ravenous bird," "bird of prey."

167, line 21, to p. 168, line 24, is a doubtful passage; no dependence can be placed in the present translation.

„ line 25.  is shown by the bilingual tablets to be the equivalent of , p. 169, line 40.

169, line 34. Restore .

173. Something is lost between lines 25 and 26.

175, line 49. Read "a-ḫa-mis" for "a-ha-mis."

177, line 78. Last part doubtful.

„ line 81. "Kili." This is a word meaning anything fabricated; in some cases it cannot mean "a boat."

„ line 83, to p. 178, line 87. The reading is doubtful on account of the fractured state of the cylinder.

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181. Omen tablet inscriptions.

The style of these inscriptions is different to the ordinary annals, and they are more difficult to translate, so that although the general sense is correct, the separate words cannot always be relied on.

183, line *p*, to page 184, line *s*.

The construction of this passage is very singular, but I think the translation is quite correct.

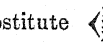
189. Proclamation. This is a difficult inscription; the translation is doubtful in several places.

193, line 15. The word "rugged" was accidentally omitted.

„ line 16. .

The phonetic reading of this monogram is given on bilingual tablets as , "qa-ne-a," Heb. קָנֶה; the character  probably denotes some epithet, the whole meaning a particular kind of reed.

„ line 2. "Ikil pa," doubtful words.

206, line 49. Substitute  for .

208, line 65. "Ṣapti." I should have felt inclined to translate "tongues" here, but the word is clearly "lips."

213. A comparison of the list of towns in pp. 213, 214, 220, 241, 242, with the list in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 40, will show many interesting variations.

219, line 5. The form "uk-ta-ta-ẓir" from "kiẓir" is remarkable; this conjugation is very rarely used.

220, line 7. . This character means "ditto," but its sound is unknown to me.

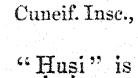
227, line 75. "Susinaq."

I take the reading "Susinaq" from Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 57, line 18, and the Susian Inscriptions, lithographed by Loftus; but this reading for the characters in the present passage of Assurbanipal, although probable, is not certain.

228, line 77. "Lagamaru."

This is certainly the deity whose name enters into the proper name of Cheorlaomer.

229, line 87. .

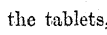
This complicated character denoted a "statue," and the reading is given in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. III, p. 70, line 52, as , "za-al-mu."

233, line 118. "Ḥuṣi" is given in a bilingual as the equivalent of "raqip," "to ride."

„ line 123. . A bilingual fragment gives , sal-la-tu, as the reading of this character.

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234, line 7. .

This difficult word is the name of some wild animal; two phonetic readings are given on the tablets, and . I have no clue to the animal intended.

240, line 63. "Kibiri."

When I translated "kiribi," "burial," I had not noticed the excellent remarks of Mr. Norris, at the bottom of p. 532 of his Dictionary, where he proposes a similar meaning, "tomb," for this word.

249, line *d*. Substitute  for .

251, line 15. The meaning of the first part of this line is doubtful.

252. Letter from Ummanaldas to Assurbanipal.

The Assyrian copy of this letter is probably a translation from the Elamite original; it is obscure in several places, and many of the forms are unusual.

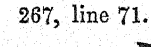
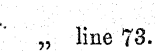
260, line 5. For "bit-ṣin," read "bit-ṣer;" the meaning is "desert house" or "tent."

261, line 15. Substitute  for in "kap-tu."

262, line 28. The meaning of the word "ulli" is unknown to me.

264. .

The meaning of this character is "anyone," or "so and so." See Mr. Fox Talbot's Glossary, Part II, p. 75. I would suggest the reading "aiumma" for this word.

267, line 71. , on a bilingual tablet , is rendered , "kis-ta;" the most common form is , "kis-ti."

„ line 73. .

In Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 45, line 59, is rendered , "amur-karanu (?)." , "karanu," I believe means "the vine." Heb. כֶּרֶם, "a vine-yard," Lev. xix, 10.

274, line 31. Here Cyl. A gives "people of Assyria, but Cyl. B, p. 286, line 10, gives "people of Arabia."

275, line 33. "Bab-maḥirī."

Mr. Fox Talbot has suggested to me the meaning "market-place" for this word, from the Heb. מָחַר.

„ lines 33 to 36. This is a difficult passage.

The translation of line 34 is very doubtful. The same must be said of the parallel passage in Cylinder B.

280, lines 87 to 90. A difficult passage, translation doubtful.

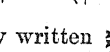
281, line 96. "Usu" is probably the Hosah of Joshua, ch. xix, v. 29.

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287. There are some lines wanting between lines 20 and 21.

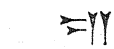
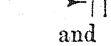
288, line 37. First part of name very doubtful.

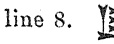
289, line 39. Read "ẓer" for "ẓin."

290, line 56. Substitute  for .

297, line 5. , mostly written .

A bilingual tablet gives the reading "sab (?)-ḍi." Heb. שבט; the bilingual passage is among a number of titles of Nebo, and reads "Holding the great sceptre, director of the world."

301, line 118. "Ṣaḥmasti" is probably connected with "ṣiḥu," "a revolt;" it is , ṣi-ḥu-mas-tu, in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 32, l. 40, and , ṣi-ḥi-mas-ti, in an unpublished tablet of Assur-banipal.

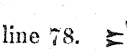
302, line 8. , the monogram for "a sheep," I believe, means "a sacrifice," and , "niqa," "a libation," Heb. נקה; the verbal form "niqa" came to mean "to sacrifice" as well as "to pour out."

„ line 11. The words "adi Ili" are doubtful, on account of a fracture.

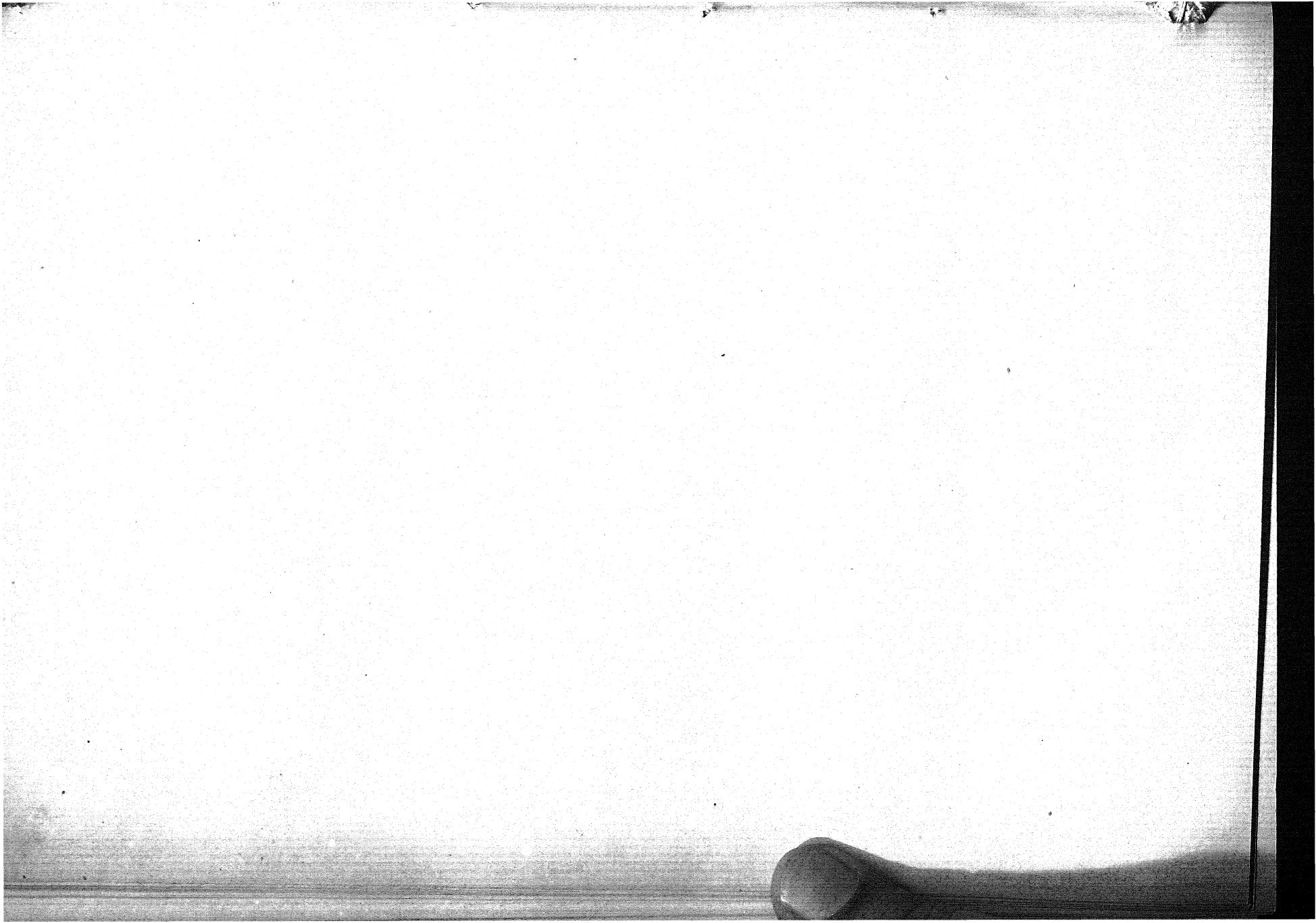
305, line 7. The at the end of this line cannot mean "her," as Mr. Norris suggests, Dict. p. 623, because it also occurs in the other version of this inscription which is dedicated to the God Nebo.

308, line 31, to p. 311, line 59.

This passage is so defective that little reliance can be placed in the reading.

313, line 78. . A bilingual tablet gives , e-ri-ni, as the equivalent of this monogram.

315, line 27. Read "si" for "ṣi" in si-ḍi.



CHRONOLOGICAL REMARKS

ON THE HISTORY OF

ASSURBANIPAL,

CALLED ALSO

ASSURBANI,* AND ASNAPPAR,† WRITTEN CORRUPTLY ACRAGANES,‡

Who reigned at Nineveh from B.C. 668 *to* 627; *the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus.*

BY J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.

THE Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, are of great interest to the historical inquirer, as affording accurate points of contact between Egyptian, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Lydian history, and as throwing light upon several doubtful points in the comparative chronology of these four nations.

I. AS REGARDS EGYPT.

I come at once to the valuable discovery made by Mr. George Smith, the translator of the foregoing history, that the date of the revolt of Psammetichus I, king of Egypt, from the dominion of the Assyrians, which I assume to be equivalent to the date of his putting down the Assyrian governors set over Egypt by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, called "the dodecarchy" by Herodotus and Diodorus, and establishing himself as sole monarch of that country, was the year B.C. 652–1. The establishment of this single date seems to me to lead to so many important results in history as to justify some detail, while examining the grounds upon which it rests.

We are all aware that Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian, in the days of Philadelphus, assuming that his reckoning is truly

* G. Smith. † Ezra iv. 10. ‡ Castor and Abydenus.

represented to us by Africanus, in the third century, placed the death of Necho I, the father of Psammetichus, in the year B.C. 655, and the accession of Psammetichus in 654, allowing for no interval between the two reigns: thus—

XXVIth DYNASTY—OF NINE SAITE KINGS.

Stephinates	7 years,	from B.C.	675
Nechepsos	6 ,,	,,	668
Necho I	8 ,,	,,	662
Psammetichus	54 ,,	,,	654
Necho II	6 ,,	,,	600
Psammuthis	6 ,,	,,	594
Vaphres (or Hophra) ..	19 ,,	,,	588
Amasis	44 ,,	,,	569
Psammecherites	6 months,	,,	525

Altogether 150 years and 6 months.

XXVIIth DYNASTY—OF EIGHT PERSIAN KINGS.

Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign over the Persians, reigned over Egypt six years * ..	525 to 519

This reckoning is peculiar to Manetho, as copied by Africanus, both as regards the date of the death of Necho I, and the date of the death of Cambyses. Both dates, however, I believe to be correct. But the copyist is, I think, incorrect in placing the accession of Psammetichus immediately after the death of his father, who was merely one of twelve kings in lower Egypt, not sovereign both of upper and lower Egypt. So that Psammetichus could not by inheritance lay claim to the title to the throne of the whole kingdom so early as B.C. 554. If we modify this statement, as seems to be required, by allowing an interval of two years between the death of Necho and the actual accession of Psammetichus, during which time Psammetichus was once compelled to fly from Egypt, that is when the king of Ethiopia had slain his father,† and once again confined by the other eleven kings to the lower parts of Egypt, as related by Herodotus, it will bring us to the same year B.C. 652–1 for the time of his becoming sole and absolute king of upper and lower Egypt. This testimony of Manetho is valuable for its independence of other reckonings of the reigns of the XXVIth Dynasty. Yet it has never been accepted by chronologists, owing to uncertainty as to the

* Cambyses reigned from 529 to 518, and died in May, 518. His first year in Egypt was 525, though Psammecherites then reigned; 518, his last, was counted to the Magi.

† Herodotus ii, 152.

proper mode of adjusting the reckoning of the intermediate reigns from Psammetichus to Cambyses, after curtailing ten years from the sum total of the separate reigns, as known from monumental sources, which together amount to 160 years and 6 months, not 150 and 6 months, as stated by Africanus. Even Africanus himself, who makes the deduction of ten years, does it incorrectly, by shortening the reign of Necho II, and making it six instead of sixteen years, rather than lapping over the reigns of Apries and Amasis.

In the year 1864 I pointed out,* in reply to a paper written by Dr. Hincks in the Journal of Sacred Literature, how Mariette's discovery of the tombs of the sacred bulls buried at Memphis in the successive reigns of Tirhakah, Psammetichus, Necho II, Psammuthis, Apries, Amasis, Cambyses, and Darius, had supplied the means of correctly adjusting these several reigns: how from these Apis-monuments it was proved to be incorrect to assign to both Apries and Amasis the full length of their reigns, inasmuch as the Apis whose burial took place in August of the 12th year of Apries was followed by an Apis installed in February of the 5th year of Amasis, showing that the 5th of Amasis must have followed within six or eighteen months of the 12th year of Apries; and how these two kings, therefore, must have been living, if not reigning, together for ten or eleven years. From the Apis-tablets, therefore, we learn that the last year of Apries was concurrent with the 11th year of Amasis, B.C. 559, and by a comparison of these tablets with other Egyptian monuments we obtain, what I conceive to be the correct arrangement of the reigns: thus—

Psammetichus	54 years,	from	2 Feb.	B.C.	652
Necho II	15½ ,,	,,	19 Jan.	,,	598
Psammuthis	5½ ,,	,,	16 ,,	,,	583
Apries, or Hophra	19 ,,	,,	15 ,,	,,	577
Amasis, counting from his conquest of Apries	44 ,,	,,	12 ,,	,,	569
From the death of Apries	35† ,,	,,	9 ,,	,,	558
Psammecherites	6 months,	,,		,,	525
Cambyses	6 years,	,,	1 ,,	,,	524
Magi	7 months,	,,		,,	518
Darius	36 years,	,,	30 Dec.	,,	518

* Journal of Sac. Lit., Oct., 1864.

† Diodorus has 55 in our present copies. Amasis was still alive in 524, according to Ctesias. Some called this his 35th year: others called it 2nd of Cambyses.

The same result is obtained from Herodotus,* who tells us that when Amasis, who was of low rank by birth, and little honoured at first by the Egyptians, had conquered Apries of the blood royal of Egypt, he dared not to put the king to death, but allowed him to remain in his own palace at Sais, till he was put to death, as we are told by Josephus,† in the 23rd or 24th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and by that king's command; or, as Herodotus relates, by the partizans of Amasis, who were jealous of his being allowed to live. Apries was then buried with kingly honours, and a sumptuous monument erected by Amasis to his memory. After the death of Apries, Amasis no doubt reckoned his own reign as 44 years, counting from the conquest of his master; but the priests of Memphis who inscribed the tablets, and also the neighbouring nations, would still have looked upon Apries as legitimate king as long as he remained alive, that is, till B.C. 559. Thus while the 4th year of Amasis, 566, was reckoned by the priests as the 12th of Apries, Ezekiel,‡ in the 7th year of Amasis, still speaks of Hophra as Pharaoh, while apparently alluding to his deprivation of power, in these words:— "I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and it shall not be bound up to be healed."

A similar and striking instance of this double mode of reckoning regnal years, on a change of dynasty from kingly to plebeian line, and one bearing, as we shall see, on the chronology of this period, is found in the time of Herod the great. For when he had conquered and deposed Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean kings of Judæa, at the close of the sabbatical year B.C. 37, three years after he had been appointed king by the Senate of Rome, Josephus tells us that not even torture could induce the Jews to recognize him as king so long as Antigonus, of native kingly race, which Herod was not, remained alive. Antigonus, therefore, was at length put to death by Mark Antony, as Apries had been put to death by the partizans of Amasis, that Herod might reign; and Josephus‖ records a double reckoning of the years of his reign, counting thirty-seven years from his appointment by the Senate, or rather perhaps from

* Herod. ii, 172.
† Jos. Ant. x, ix, 7.
‡ Ezek. xxx, 21.
‖ Ibid. xvii, viii. 1.

his arrival in Judæa as king, and thirty-four years from the time of the murder of Antigonus, in the spring of B.C. 36.*

In the same article, I referred to an argument, the force of which was fully recognized by Dr. Hincks, drawn from the date of the total solar eclipse of B.C. 585, which put an end to the six years' war between Cyaxares and Alyattes king of Lydia, which war was over before the capture of Nineveh. Dr. Hincks laboured hard to show that the total eclipse of B.C. 603 must have been the eclipse referred to by Herodotus, though Alyattes, according to the Parian Chronicle, had then been only two years on the throne, and it is now determined by astronomers that the shadow of that eclipse passed over the Red Sea, and not near Asia Minor; for he well knew, as most other chronologists also admit, that the eclipse and battle referred to must have happened close upon the time of the fall of Nineveh, and therefore close upon the time of the death of Necho II, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. So that Pharaoh Necho who fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who sought his life (Jerem. xlvi, 26), after 585, could not have died much earlier than the year B.C. 583, where I place his death. And as Psammetichus began to reign in the 70th year preceding Necho's death, the accession of Psammetichus by this argument also would be placed not earlier than B.C. 652.

Mr. George Smith, from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, has led us, by a perfectly different process, to the same conclusion. He has given the list of Archons eponymes at Nineveh, together with their dates (p. 321), from the accession of Assurbanipal, in B.C. 668, to the year 648: and although he does not bind himself to any particular date for the first year of Psammetichus, he has shown that the revolt of Psammetichus from the dominion of Assyria, which began in the year of the death of Gyges king of Lydia, was connected with the revolt of Saulmugina king of Babylon, which broke out in the year that Assurdurusur was archon at Nineveh, that is, in the year B.C. 652–1 (66, 67, 151, 181).†

It will have been observed in the foregoing history, that Assurbanipal speaks of Gyges king of Lydia, having "sent his forces to the

* Herod's 35th year was not completed. He died before the month Nisan B.C. 1, and, according to Jewish custom, Archelaus' first year was reckoned from B.C. 2.

† See also Zeitschrift für Ägyptiche sprache, Sept. 1868, p. 98; also an article in the North British Review, July, 1870, p. 354.

aid of Psammetichus king of Egypt (Muzur), who had thrown off the yoke" (p. 66). Now those forces are unquestionably the same as the body of Carians and Ionians in brazen armour spoken of by Herodotus* and Diodorus,† with whose assistance he conquered the other eleven kings of the dodecarchy, and made himself master of the throne. The chronology, therefore, of the period, after making some allowance for differences between Egyptian and Assyrian modes of relating the same facts, seems to run thus:—Necho's last year, as stated by Manetho, was B.C. 655. He was slain by the king of Ethiopia in that year. In the same year, according to Herodotus, Psammetichus was expelled from Egypt either by the Assyrians or Ethiopians, and fled into Asia Minor, where he was welcomed, as appears, at the court of Gyges. Gyges, then in his last year, took up his cause, and prepared to send a force of Carians and Ionians to support his claim to the throne of Egypt; both thus casting off their allegiance to the king of Assyria. Assurbanipal, who was then engaged in war with Elam, and unable to detach any of his forces, imprecates curses on the head of Gyges, who, in answer to his prayer, is slain by the Cimmerians, either in 655, or in the beginning of 654 (p. 67), and Psammetichus, in the same or the following year, is recalled to Egypt by the people of Sais. Being, however, suspected of ambitious designs upon the throne by the eleven other confederate kings, and not yet, therefore, reckoned sole king of Egypt, he is confined by them to the lower parts about the Delta; when suddenly, in B.C. 653, a body of Carians and Ionians having landed in the Delta, he puts himself at their head, and in the course of that year conquers the eleven confederates and makes himself supreme. His first year, therefore, was probably 653, though his reign would not be counted till the month Thoth in the following year, that is, from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

The correctness of this view of the history is confirmed with exactness by a comparison of Diodorus with the records of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Diodorus relates that when the king of Ethiopia, whom he wrongly supposes to be Sabbaco, but who was really Tirhakah, had, in obedience to a vision, departed from Egypt, and returned to Ethiopia, there was anarchy in Egypt during two

* Herod. ii, 152.

† Diodorus, lib. i, Rhodom. p. 59.

years. The Assyrian account, as collected from the annals of Esarhaddon, is somewhat different. Esarhaddon records that he conquered Tirhakah about the year B.C. 671-670, and compelled him to fly into Ethiopia, and that the Assyrians then divided Egypt into twenty districts, and set over them so many petty kings, and governors. The annals of Assurbanipal then commence by recording how, in the year 668, when Esarhaddon was approaching his death, Tirhakah suddenly returned from Ethiopia, turned out the kings and governors, and again seized the throne; how he in turn was driven out a second time by Assurbanipal, and how the kings, *twelve* of whom bear Egyptian names, and governors were replaced, strengthened, and "*joined in covenant*" (p. 23). This union in covenant to support each other may be dated from B.C. 667, and continued for some few years. But "*afterwards*," let us say in 664, they entered into a conspiracy with Tirhakah, and invited him to become their supreme lord, instead of the Assyrians; still continuing their mutual covenant "to help each other" (p. 25). Here, then, are the two years of anarchy spoken of by Diodorus, during 669 and 668, very distinctly described, followed by a confederacy of twelve kings, and other governors, in B.C. 667. Diodorus then goes on to speak of this association of kings. For, after the two years of anarchy, he tells us that *twelve* principal governors conspired together at Memphis, and having *sworn to support each other*, made themselves kings, and administered the affairs of Egypt for 15 years; and that at the end of these 15 years, (*πεντεκαὶδεκα ἔτη*, twice repeated in words), the government came into the hands of Psammetichus by the aid of a force of Arabians, Carians, and Ionians, by whom he put down the other eleven kings.*

Thus while the Assyrian and Greek accounts sufficiently support each other as to facts, the chronology of the period has fortunately been preserved by Diodorus with complete exactness. For, if we deduct two years of anarchy and fifteen years of dodecarchy, together seventeen years, from the end of the year B.C. 670, when Tirhakah first fled from Esarhaddon into Ethiopia, we arrive again at the same date, B.C. 652, for the accession of Psammetichus.

I submit, therefore, that unless reason can be shown for doubting

* Diodorus i, p. 59.

the accuracy of Diodorus, there is no room for disputing that the first year of the reign of Psammetichus, as king of upper and lower Egypt, was counted from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

But perhaps the question may be raised, whether, admitting that Psammetichus revolted from Assyria in B.C. 652, it is not possible that his regnal years may have been counted from the time when his father Necho I was replaced on the throne of Sais by Assurbanipal, after he had been carried prisoner to Nineveh, that is, in B.C. 662, and when his son Neboshasban (which may probably be the Assyrian name given to Psammetichus) was made one of the dodecarchy, or a petty king, at Atribes (p. 28). The one, true, and sufficient answer, however, to this question, never to be set aside,* must still be, that unless the total solar eclipse which put an end to the six years Lydo-Median war can be placed above the year B.C. 585, where astronomers have now finally fixed it, either by adopting the total eclipse of B.C. 610, where Ideler proposed to place the last battle, or the total eclipse of B.C. 603, for which Dr. Hincks so earnestly, but unsuccessfully contended, which are the only two alternatives, the fall of Nineveh and the death of Necho II, who went up against Nineveh, saying, "I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof,"† cannot be placed earlier than about B.C. 583, nor the first year of Psammetichus, therefore earlier than about B.C. 652. The Apis-tablets testify that Psammetichus reigned over Egypt fifty-four years, and from the same authority we know that Necho II completed about fifteen years and a half. This joint period, therefore, of sixty-nine years and a half, beginning after the fall of the dodecarchy, in Feb. B.C. 652, and ending after the eclipse, in the summer of B.C. 583, when Nebuchadnezzar had been placed in command of his father's army, more than a year before his father's death, becomes thus, through the medium of the annals of Assurbanipal, one of the most accurately fixed periods in ancient history.

Again, the priests of Memphis registered the birth of an Apis in the 26th year of Tirhakah, and his death in the 20th year of Psammetichus, 20th day of the 12th month, Mesori.‡ So that, allowing Tirhakah to have reigned twenty-eight years, as "king of Egypt and Ethiopia" (Muzur and Kush), and his son Urdumane

* See Herod. i, 103. † Jerem. xlvi, 8. ‡ Mariette's Sérapéum de Memphis, p. 28.

(Rudammon) only two years, till he was ejected in the second expedition of Assurbanipal (p. 52), together thirty years; and supposing Psammetichus to have begun to reign in B.C. 662, Tirhakah would have become king of Egypt (Muzur) as early as 692. But this is not true. For when in the year B.C. 689 = 14th Hezekiah, Tirhakah came to fight with Sennacherib, he is spoken of by Isaiah, not as king of Egypt, but simply as king of Kush (מֶלֶךְ כּוּשׁ).* So that Tirhakah was not yet king of Muzur as well as Kush so early as B.C. 692, nor did he become king of Egypt till after 689; and Psammetichus, who reigned not less than thirty years after the accession of Tirhakah to the throne of Egypt, could not, therefore, have begun to reign so early as 662.

The year B.C. 689 marks the time of a great chronological epoch in Jewish history. For in this year the affairs of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, became closely interwoven with the political interests of the king of Jerusalem.

1. It is the year, in the spring of which the 14th of Hezekiah began, and in which Merodach-Baladan, son of Baladan† king of Babylon, sent messengers to inquire concerning his health, and "of the wonder done in the land."
2. It is the year in which Sethos, or Zeet, the last of the priests of Vulcan, according to Herodotus,‡ and the last of the Tanite dynasty of Egyptian kings, according to Manetho, in the eighty-fifth year of the XXIIIrd Dynasty, counted from the period of the first Olympiad (July, 776–772), was opposed to Sennacherib in his campaign into Arabia and towards Egypt, when Tirhakah came out of Ethiopia, and when the army of Sennacherib was miraculously destroyed.
3. It is the year, in the autumn of which a Jewish Sabbatical year began, which was followed by the observance of a year of Jubilee, which could only take place once in forty-nine years; and which is shown by the words of Isaiah, "ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself, and the second year that which springeth of the same."§

* Isaiah xxxvii, 9.

† "Baladan" is here written short for Merodach-Baladan, as we find Shalman written for Shalmaneser, Jareb or Irib for Sennacherib, Saracus or Sharezar for Nergal-Sharezar.

‡ Herod ii, 141. § Isaiah xxxvii, 30; Lev. xxv, 5, 9, 11.

4. It is the year, on the 11th of January of which, Hezekiah being sick, the shadow "on the steps of Ahaz" in the king's sick chamber, returned "ten steps" which it had gone down.

The following are the elements of the solar eclipse at Jerusalem which caused this phenomenon, as computed by Mr. Hind, introducing Hansen's last value of the moon's secular equation :—

Annular Solar Eclipse, B.C. 689, *January* 11.

Greenwich Mean Time of Conjunction in R.A., Jan. $10^d\ 20^h\ 45^m\ 25^s$

R. A. of ☉ and ☾		285°	15′	26″·1
Hor. Mot. in R.A.	☉		2	43 ·6
,,	☾		32	8 ·1
Declination	☉	− 23	2	41 ·1
,,	☾	− 22	14	57 ·3
Hor. Mot. in Decl.	☉	+	0	16 ·2
,,	☾	+	6	15 ·1
Hor. Parallax	☉			9 ·0
,,	☾		54	40 ·2
Semi-diameter	☉		16	11 ·5
,,	☾		14	53 ·9

AT JERUSALEM THE ECLIPSE WOULD BE ANNULAR :—

	d	h	m	s	
First Contact Jan.	10	20	28	−	Astronomical
Commencement of annular phase		22	13	48	Mean Times
Ending ,,		22	21	15	at
Last Contact	11	0	6	−	Jerusalem.

∴ The duration of annular phase = $7^m\ 27^s$.

1871, *July* 3. J. R. HIND.

* Mr. Hind's computation of the time of this eclipse at Jerusalem is made in conformity with the most recent theory of the moon's secular acceleration, and, according to this theory, it appears to be soon after 10 o'clock A.M., the sun's altitude being then 30°. And he suggests that the appearance of a ring-formed sun, for between seven and eight minutes, may have been spoken of as "the wonder done in the land." The Astronomer Royal, computing by Greenwich elements in 1854, reckoned the time as about 10 minutes after 11 o'clock A.M., which appears to me to be nearer the truth. The words of Isaiah are, as it were, the record of an astronomical observation at Jerusalem of the moon's latitude and longitude on the 11th Jan. B.C. 689, taken in a dark chamber in the king's palace, on an instrument in the form of steps, set at the angle of the latitude of Jerusalem, 31° 47′ N. : and the theory of course must be corrected by the observation. I have explained my idea of the nature of the Dial, or "Steps of Ahaz," in a recent work, "Messiah the Prince," 2nd Edit. 1869 : according to which I conceive that the sun must have risen to about 35° in altitude on that day at the time of its greatest obscuration, and that the path of the shadow must have fallen four or five degrees north of Jerusalem : while the time was about twenty minutes before noon. The effect described could only have happened a few days before or after the winter solstice, when the shadow cast by the sun on the steps would be nearly parallel with them.

This eclipse, which fixes the 14th year of Hezekiah to the year B.C. 689, is of extreme value in settling the chronology of this period. Like the eclipse of Thales, B.C. 585, and the eclipse at Nineveh, in B.C. 763, it brings down the reigns of the kings of Judah exactly twenty-five years; and with regard to the matter in hand, it proves that Sethos, or Zeet, of the XXIII[rd] Dynasty, in lower Egypt, and Sevechus the Ethiopian of the XXV[th] Dynasty, in upper Egypt, and Tirhakah, while yet king of Ethiopia, were all on the throne at the same time, when Sennacherib invaded Judæa in the year B.C. 689; and this in fact is what Manetho wished to convey concerning these dynasties, when, speaking of Petubastes, he wrote, "*ἐφ ὃν Ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη πρώτη.*" Manetho must have known the exact relation of the reign of Petubastes to the Olympiad, and of course intended to express what he knew with chronological precision. He meant, therefore, that Petubastes began to reign within the four years beginning in July, B.C. 776, and ending in July, 772, which in common parlance was called the first Olympiad. We shall not err much in fixing the first year of Petubastes, therefore, in the beginning of B.C. 773, and the last year of Sethos in B.C. 685.

We now count up from the first year of Psammetichus, as fixed by the Annals of Assurbanipal, B.C. 652; and assuming that the Apis which died in his 20th year, and which was born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, had lived twenty-six years, we arrive at the date of the first year of Tirhakah, B.C. 684, as king of upper and lower Egypt, and conqueror of Sethos, and successor of Sevechus. The following is the result:—

B.C.	XXIV[th] DYNASTY.		
714	Boccoris the Saite,	6	years.
	XXV[th] DYNASTY, OF THREE ETHIOPIAN KINGS.		
708	Sabbaco, or So. ..	12	„
696	Sevechus	12	„
684	Tirhakah	28	„

	XXIII[rd] DYNASTY, OF FOUR TANITE KINGS.			B.C.
	Petubastes	40 years	..	773
	Osorcho	8 „	..	733
	Psammus	10 „	..	725
	Zeet, or Sethos,	31 „	..	715
				⋮
				to
				⋮
				685
				684

Nevertheless, there are some perhaps who will be disposed to adhere, with Dr. Lepsius, to the common reckoning, and to place the first of Psammetichus in B.C. 664, and the last of Necho I in 595;

more especially as this reckoning is supported by the great authority of Clement of Alexandria. For Clement,* one of the most learned men of his day, of the same city as Ptolemy the astronomer, and of about the same date, speaking of the captivity of Jechoniah king of Judah, tells us that he was carried "captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar the king in the seventh year of his reign over the Assyrians, in the second year of the reign of Vaphres over the Egyptians, in the archonship of Philippus (Phœnippus) at Athens, in the first year of the forty-eighth Olympiad," that is, in B.C. 588. Clement, therefore, thus places the first year of Apries in B.C. 589, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in 595. This reckoning at first sight seems to be admissible; for it just allows room for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus, spoken of so distinctly by Herodotus as one of the principal events of his reign,† which, if commenced at the time of his accession in 652, might have placed him in possession of that city in 623, and also allows room for the twenty-eight years of Scythian occupation of Asia before the fall of Nineveh,‡ which, if counted from 623, might bring the fall of Nineveh and first of Nebuchadnezzar to B.C. 595. For the Scythians we know found Psammetichus in possession of Ashdod on their arrival in Palestine, and we read that "Azotus, or Ashdod, and Ascalon feared" the army of the king of Assyria "greatly."‖ This reckoning of Clement, however, will not bear the test of examination. For neither Cylinder B, of the foregoing annals, dated probably in the archonship of Belsunu, B.C. 647, nor Cylinder A, dated probably in 640, in the archonship of Samas-dain-ani (p. 321), make any allusion to this siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus; while we read in the history of the ninth expedition of Assurbanipal, B.C. 647, of the submission of the Arabians of Nabatea, of the punishment of Akko and Usu on the return of the Assyrians through Palestine (p. 299), without a word of allusion to Psammetichus or Ashdod; and in a tenth expedition, B.C. 645, spoken of in a fragment in the British Museum (which, however, Mr. Smith thinks may possibly belong to the reign of Esarhaddon, but which may refer to the reign of Assurbanipal), after mention of the siege

* Clement Alex. Strom. 1. See Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. iv, p. 434.
† Herod. ii, 157. ‡ Herod. i, 105. ‖ Judith ii, 28.

of Tyre, in the reign of Baal, it is said that the king's army went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or upper Egypt), showing that the authority of Assurbanipal was neither yet so low in Egypt, nor that of Psammetichus yet so high, as to allow of the continuous siege of Ashdod so early as B.C. 645. If we may surmise that Psammetichus drove the king of Assyria out of Egypt in that year, and began to lay siege to Ashdod in 644, this fortress would have come into possession of Psammetichus in B.C. 615, and, allowing five years' occupation to the Egyptian king before the arrival of the Scythians, that is, till 610, the fall of Nineveh and the first of Nebuchadnezzar would have happened in B.C. 583, as I have already determined. Clement's date, therefore, is probably placed twelve years too high. Of this, however, we may be quite certain, that he knew of no sufficient authority for Ptolemy's date, B.C. 604, for the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which must be looked upon as Ptolemy's own invention, and which is absolutely inadmissible. For if the Scythians entered Palestine twenty-eight years before 604, that is, in B.C. 632, room cannot be found for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod after B.C. 652. I have frequently drawn attention to the worthlessness of the dates in Ptolemy's Canon attached to the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon; and it must be borne in mind that Ptolemy's reckoning, though justly relied upon when supported by astronomical data, is not necessarily to be held in the same estimation when astronomical data are wanting, or, in fact, as in this instance, bearing against it. Both Ptolemy and Clement must be set down as incorrect as regards the date of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; but we are indebted to Clement for confirming the synchronism of the first of Nebuchadnezzar with the last year of Necho II, which is in agreement with the interpretation of Josephus, and which is so clearly implied by Jeremiah where he writes,*—"Pharaoh (Necho) and them that trust in him I will deliver into the hands of those who seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon."

Clement goes on to state,—"The captivity (that is of Jechoniah, in the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588) lasted for seventy years, and

* Compare Jerem. xxv, 1, with xlvi, 2, 26. Mr. Smith, I think, is incorrect in supposing that this passage applies to Pharaoh Hophra. Nebuchadnezzar was in Egypt when he heard of his father's death, in B.C. 581, after the battle of Carchemish.

ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians," that is, in B.C. 518, when Darius was about thirty-seven years of age. Now here it is that the whole system of Clement's chronology, as well as of the common scheme of reckoning, breaks down. For, *à fortiori*, if seventy years, counted from the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, end in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the "seventy years' desolations of Jerusalem," which began in the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, and ended, as Daniel tells us, in the reign of "Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes,"* must have come to end in the reign of the same king, Darius Hystaspes. But this king, as Daniel tells us, took the throne of Babylon on the death of Belshazzar, when "about three score and two years old,"† that is, in the year B.C. 492, not when he was about thirty-seven years old in 518.

The true reckoning now comes out in perfect plainness, thus :—

	B.C.
Psammetichus and his son Necho II reign in succession for sixty-nine years and a half, till the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar, in association with his father, from	652 to 583
Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem in his 19th year after the death of his father	563‡
Jerusalem remains desolate seventy full years, till Darius puts an end to the kingdom or satrapy of Babylon at the age of 62 §	493
Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, are counted from the first of Darius over Babylon to the birth of Christ, at the time when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor of Syria ‖	3

This is manifestly the true outline of chronology from the time of the accession of Psammetichus to the birth of Christ, and greatly supported by the Annals of Assurbanipal; while it is entirely subversive of the common reckoning, which is built upon many false foundations :—

1. On the assumption, that Psammetichus king of Egypt began to reign more than ten years before the expiration of the dodecarchy in Egypt, which cannot be true.

* Dan. ix, 2. † Dan. v, 31. ‡ This date is confirmed by Demetrius.

§ Darius died at the age of 72, according to Ctesias. He began to reign in B.C. 517, and completed 36 years.

‖ As discovered by Dr. Zumpt.

2. On the adoption of the dates of Ptolemy the astronomer, in connexion with the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon, dates unknown to Africanus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius, and resting on no astronomical foundation.
3. On the assumption, that the battle fought by Alyattes king of Lydia in his sixth campaign against the Medes, and ended by a total solar eclipse, was fought in B.C. 610, or 603; that is, either five years before Alyattes came to the throne, or before he had reigned four years.
4. On the absurd assumption, that Astyages king of Media, who married a Lydian princess in the year of the eclipse, B.C. 585, was conquered by his grandson Cyrus king of Persia in B.C. 559, when Cyrus was 40 years of age.*
5. On the assumption, that the record of the taking of Babylon by "Darius,"† in the Book of Daniel, is a record of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.
6. On the assumption that king "Darius" who lived in the time of Daniel, was king Cyaxares.
7. On the assumption, that king Cambyses, who lived not long before the time of Ezra, was called by Ezra "Ahasuerus;" and that Bardes, or Gomates, the usurper in the days of Darius, was known to Ezra by the title "Artacshastha."‡

I propose, on the other hand, to adhere strictly to the foregoing outline of chronology in what follows, and in doing so, I think it will be found that many apparently conflicting records in ancient history readily fall into place.

II. As regards Assyria.

Assurbanipal, as we have seen, was associated on the throne with his father Esarhaddon in May, B.C. 668, in which year his father died. He began, therefore, to reign alone in the year B.C. 667.

* Hales' Chronology, Vol. i, p. 269.

† Herodotus speaks of Darius, son of Hystaspes, as king of the Medes.

‡ To the above contradictions may be added,—That the capture of Samaria by "Shalmanezer," was the capture of Samaria by Sargon.

The exact duration of his reign cannot be gathered from the Assyrian records. But, by comparing these records with the Babylonian Canon and other sources of information, it may be inferred, with much probability, that he reigned forty-two years. From the foregoing history it appears that, on the death of Esarhaddon, whose principal residence was at Babylon, his younger son Saulmugina (the Sammughes of Polyhistor) had been left as viceroy on the throne of Babylon; and, according to the Babylonian Canon, he reigned there twenty years, till the year B.C. 648, when, being found in rebellion against his elder brother Assurbanipal, he was conquered at Babylon, and immediately burnt to death (163). Saulmugina is corruptly written in the Canon, Saosduchinus. Again, from the Babylonian Canon we learn that Kineladanus, who, according to Polyhistor, was brother of Sammuges, and therefore brother of Assurbanipal, or Assurbanipal himself,* succeeded him at Babylon, and reigned twenty-two years, till the year B.C. 626; after which Nabopalassar came to the throne. The years of Nabopalassar we know are astronomically fixed, by an eclipse in his third year, as beginning in B.C. 625. So that the two sons of Esarhaddon, who reigned in succession at Babylon, covered a period of exactly forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar.

Now, I have always maintained that Nabopalassar king of Babylon was also that king of Nineveh known to the Greeks by the title Sardanapalus, as indeed Polyhistor distinctly attests, when he relates that Sardanapalus having reigned twenty-one years married his son Nabuchodrosser to the daughter of Astyages;† and if we look to the list of Assyrian kings as given by Eusebius from Castor and Abydenus, we shall find it difficult to come to any other conclusion. For we there find the names of the three last kings of the Assyrian dynasty thus written:—

Acraganes, who reigned	42	years.
Thonos Concoleros, or Sardanapalus	20	,,
Ninus II (or Saracus)	19	,,

* Mr. Smith identifies Kineladanus with Assurbanipal, p. 324. If so, he reigned 42 years.

† Probably a mistake for Astibares. Eupolemus writes—"Itaque Nabuchodonosorem, Babyloniorum regem, ubi rem quomodo ab Hieremia prænuntiata fuerat rescivisset, Astibarem (= Cyaxarem in Ctesia) Medorum regem, uti hujus expeditionis socius esse vellet, obsecrasse: conjunctoque Babyloniorum et Medorum exercitu——Joachimum regem vivum cepisse."—Muller's Fragments, Vol. iii, p. 229.

Thus the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus, called Acraganes, reigned forty-two years at Nineveh. Now, to assume that Acraganes reigned after Assurbanipal, who certainly was still on the throne about B.C. 640, would be to bring down the fall of Nineveh, in the time of Saracus, some eighty years below that date, that is to say, to about B.C. 560, which is quite out of the question; and as he cannot be identified with Esarhaddon, we can only conclude that Assurbanipal and Acraganes are one and the same king. Indeed Acraganes appears to be merely a corruption from Assurbani, to which form the name of Assurbanipal was sometimes contracted. While this king, therefore, as eldest son of Esarhaddon, occupied the throne of Nineveh for forty-two years, till the time of Sardanapalus, his brother and himself occupied the throne of Babylon in succession for forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar, who was called Sardanapalus. He reigned, therefore, from B.C. 668 to 626: the reign of his son Assur-ebil-ili being included probably in this last year, he having been associated with his father before his death.

To the great disturbance however, as I think, of the true history, it has been usual to identify Assurbanipal himself with Sardanapalus. Thus Professor Rawlinson writes,—"He was no doubt one of the two kings called Sardanapalus, celebrated by Hellanicus; he must have been the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes."* This opinion is worthy of much respect, as having been adopted by the authorities of the British Museum, as indicated on the slabs brought from the palace of Assurbanipal. It may be observed, however, on the other hand, that as Callisthenes speaks of two kings called Sardanapalus, the one effeminate the other warlike,† so Herodotus also speaks of two kings, about the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C., both bearing the same title Labynetus, the first of whom, for reasons hitherto unexplained, yielded up the reins of government, and allowed his kingdom to be administered by his wife Nitocris; the second, known as the great king of Babylon, son of Labynetus and Nitocris, against whom Cyrus the Persian, grandson of Astyages, called *the mule*, had commenced warlike preparations,‡ when, as Megasthenes relates, being seized with frenzy, he ascended the upper

* Ancient Monarchies, Vol. ii, p. 502. † Suidas, voce Sardanapalos.
‡ Herod. i, 188.

terrace of his palace, forewarned the Babylonians of the coming of a *Persian mule* who should capture Babylon, and suddenly died. So also Jewish records speak of two great kings, both called Nabuchodonosor, the one who was forsaken by his allies, wanting in military capacity, and given to feasting and luxury, viz., "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh,* whose dependent provinces made light of his commands, and sent away his ambassadors from them without effect and with disgrace;" the other, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar, who together with Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus,† conquered Nineveh, likened by Megasthenes to Hercules, who conquered Tyre, Egypt, and Jerusalem, and established the Babylonian empire. These two pairs of unwarlike and warlike kings, called Labynetus and Nabuchodonosor, can only be identified with the Nabopalassar and his son Nabuchodrossor of the Chaldean historians; and as it would be unreasonable to imagine three pairs of kings, bearing the same titles, living within the same range of time, and distinguished by the same characteristics of effeminacy and valour, there can be no question that Polyhistor is correct, and that Sardanapalus the effeminate represents Nabopalassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and Sardanapalus the warlike, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar himself; and that Labynetus, or Nabo-netzar, the husband of Nitocris, and Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh, are one and the same king. But again, this is exactly what Abydenus and Castor have told us, when they name the other title by which Sardanapalus was known. The most corrupt and incomprehensible form of the title is Thonos Concoleros, the least corrupt form perhaps being Makoscoleros, as written by Sycellus.‡ Now, "Mako," I conceive to be merely a corruption of Nabo; and Naboconcoleros no one can doubt would be a corruption of Nabochodoneros, or Nabuchodonosor.

Thus Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, who reigned forty-two years, was predecessor of Sardanapalus, not Sardanapalus himself; and Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar, reigned twenty years over Nineveh. Thus also, the chronology of the empire of Assyria is brought down with distinctness to the year B.C. 606, the last year of the reign of Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus. And as during the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and Saracus, Nineveh and

* Judith i, 1, 11. † Tobit xiv, 15. ‡ Syncellus Dind. Vol. i, p. 390.

Babylon formed parts of the same empire, so Nabopalassar, though fixing his palace at Babylon, like Esarhaddon, is properly described, as in the Book of Judith, as reigning at Nineveh.

The history now becomes somewhat obscure. Nevertheless, it lies before us, if we are willing to put together the scattered threads which have been preserved. For we learn from Cleitarchus that "Sardanapalus died of old age, after having been deprived of the empire of Syria," that is, Assyria. It was not he, therefore, that burned himself in his own palace. Aristobulus* informs us that Sardanapalus was buried at Ankiale, near Tarsus, and that the inscription on his tomb declared that he was descended from Anacynderaxes, or Anabaxares, both probably corruptions of Sennacherib. He may have been descended, therefore, through a female line from Esarhaddon and Sennacherib: and so claimed the empire of right on the death of Assur-ebil-ili. And this is the meaning of a peculiar expression used by Abydenus, who, after speaking of Axerdis or Esarhaddon, writes,—"hinc Sardanapalus exortus est." That he was still alive as late as B.C. 585, we know from Herodotus, who says that it was "Labynetus of Babylon,"—he does not say king—who with Syennesis of Cilicia brought about peace between the Medes and Lydians in that year, which well accords with the fact of his residence at Tarsus; and from Berosus we learn, that at the time of the fall of Nineveh (583) he was incapable of heading his own army, which he placed under his son Nebuchadnezzar. All this, again, is perfectly consistent with the fact that his wife Nitocris was reigning at Babylon when Nineveh was finally overthrown in that year.

Now what we wish to know is, what was doing at Nineveh during the twenty-four years from 606 to 583, while Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar was taking his ease at Tarsus, and while Nitocris was holding the reins of government at Babylon.

If we turn to Agathias, who follows the history of Ctesias, he tells us, that it was Arbaces† the Mede, and Belesus the Babylonian, son of Delcetades, who deprived Sardanapalus of the empire (in B.C. 606): and from Abydenus we learn that Saracus, who must have

* The several passages may be conveniently referred to in Clinton's Fast. Hell., Vol. i, 275.

† We know of no king of Media at this time called Arbaces. Possibly Belesus the Babylonian may have been prefect of Arbaka.

succeeded Belesus, was in possession—he does not say how—of the throne of Nineveh, when Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares conquered that city, and when Saracus, not Sardanapalus, burned himself in his palace (in B.C. 583). Now, with regard to the fall of Assyria, it has been customary to suppose that the son of Assurbanipal, whose name is written Bel-ebil-eli, was the last king of Nineveh. But it has been conjectured that he had two successors, Bel-ziker-iskun (or Bel-sum-iskun), and a son and successor of Bel-ziker-iskun, whose name is supposed to be lost, and who was probably the monarch under whom Nineveh was destroyed.

This conjecture may not unlikely prove to be the truth. For who is Bel-sum-(iskun) "king of Assyria,"* but Belesus, son of Delcetades of Ctesias? and who is his son, whose name is said to be lost, but (Nergal)-Sharezar, or Saracus, who, on a tablet in the British Museum, announces himself to be son of Bel-sum-iskun, "king of Babylon,"* and who has hitherto been supposed to be quite another king.†

The succession, therefore, of kings at Nineveh, was thus :—

Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, and Assur-ebil-ili	reign	42	years, from B.C.	668
Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus, Nabuchodonosor, or Labynetus, husband of Nitocris	,,	20	,, ,,	625
The Scythians obtain supremacy in Asia for 28 years ..				610
They make peace with Psammetichus in				608
Bel-sum-iskun, or Belesus, and his son Saracus, or Nergal-Sharezar, as tributaries to Scythia	reign	22	years, from B.C.	605?
Nabopalassar and Nitocris, after the fall of Nineveh	,,	2	,, ,,	583
Nebuchadnezzar	,,	43	,, ,,	581

This is obviously the true outline of the history: and we find accordingly that it was well understood by Herodotus, Abydenus, and the writer of the Book of Judith, and that together they have given us all the necessary leading dates connected with it. No reasonable person can doubt that Herodotus and the writer of Judith

* Mr. Smith (p. 323) has placed Bilzikeriskun between Tiglath-Pileser and Sennacherib. But who then is Nergal-Sharezar?

† See Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. i, p. 8, No. VI.

had the same history before them, when they wrote concerning the last days of Nineveh. Herodotus relates that a certain king of Nineveh *slew Phraortes the Mede* in battle:* that a few years after Cyaxares the Mede came up against Nineveh to avenge his father's death:† that *the allies of Assyria held themselves aloof:* that Cyaxares was the king who afterwards made peace with the Lydians at the time of the eclipse of B.C. 585: that Nineveh was saved on this occasion by an army of Scythians: that the Scythians soon after they had conquered the Medes *led their forces towards Egypt*, and were met by Psammetichus king of Egypt in Palestine, *who purchased peace:* that on their return, the Scythians plundered *Ascalon:* and that they remained masters of Asia for twenty-eight years, till the fall of Nineveh. In the Book of Judith we read, that Nabuchodonosor (Nabopalassar, whose reign is fixed by an eclipse) "who reigned at Nineveh," in his 12th year (B.C. 614) slew *Arphaxad king of the Medes* in battle: that not long after *he was forsaken of his allies:* that in his 18th year (B.C. 608) he sent an army of 120,000 footmen, and 12,000 cavalry, by the way of Damascus, and Tyre, and Sidon *into Palestine*, "and they that dwelt in Azotus, or Ashdod, *and Ascalon* feared him greatly: and they sent embassadors unto him (the general Holofernes) *to treat of peace:*" that Joakim, or Eliakim, the aged high priest,‡ was then still ruling in Jerusalem (B.C. 608, being the ninth year of the reign of the young king Josiah): and that Judith, after slaying Holofernes, lived to the 105th year, (*i.e.* of the captivity of the ten tribes) till B.C. 591. Neither of these histories, however, gives the exact time of the entry of the Scythians into power, from which to calculate twenty-eight years to the fall of Nineveh. But here Abydenus comes in with a remarkably exact date, showing that he had the same history before him as Herodotus and the writer of Judith. For, after enumerating the several kings of Assyria down to Sardanapalus, he writes concerning this last king—"qui omnium extremus fuit: a quo ad primum Olympiadem 67 (*read* 167) anni putantur"§—that is, from the year B.C. 610, inclusive, to B.C. 776.

* Herod. i, 102. † Herod. i, 103. ‡ Son of Hilkiah, Isaiah xxii, 22.

§ Euseb. Chron. i, xiii, p. 36. Mr. Clinton, Vol. i, p. 273, assumes that Abydenus has here contradicted himself to the extent of more than 230 years, which is highly improbable.

Thus the supremacy of the Scythians in Asia, which began before the expulsion of Sardanapalus from Nineveh by Belsumiskun, is dated with precision in B.C. 610, and lasted for twenty-eight years, till the time when Saracus, or Sharezar, son of Belsumiskun, was conquered by the Medes and Babylonians in B.C. 583. Abydenus then counts 1,280 years upwards from 610, inclusive, to the time of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, leading up to the year B.C. 1889: and Ctesias counts 1,306 years from 583, leading up from the overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians to Ninus and Semiramis, which brings us again to the same date, B.C. 1889.

This series of dates is consistent, accurate, and complete. When Berosus, therefore, as quoted by Josephus, places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar after a twenty-nine years' reign of Nabopalassar in Babylon, he is reckoning from the time when the establishment of Scythian supremacy left him only his tributary position at Babylon: and when Ctesias affirms that Nineveh was destroyed in the time of Sardanapalus, he is in fact stating the truth, though mistaken in supposing that it was Sardanapalus, instead of Saracus, who destroyed himself in his palace.

The recovery, thus made, of the date of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, B.C. 1889, leads again to the recovery of the true date of the invasion of Assyria by Pul the Chaldean. For Berosus tells us that after three successive dynasties at Nineveh, that is to say, of—

49	Chaldean kings, who reigned	458 years
9	Arabian kings	145* ,,
45	Assyrian kings	526 ,,
		1,129 years

there arose a Chaldean king called Phul, who invaded the Assyrian empire and subjugated it to the Chaldees. Now Phul, without question, is "Pul king of Assyria," who "came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul 1,000 talents of silver to confirm the kingdom to his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). If Pul, therefore, began

* The figure in the original is 245, making 1,229 years, instead of 1,129. If that figure is retained, the 1,280 years of Castor and Abydenus must be altered to 1,380, and the 1,306 of Ctesias to 1,406. I prefer to alter 245 into 145.

to reign 1,129 years after Ninus and Semiramis, in B.C. 1889, his first year must have been B.C. 760: and as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser is fixed, by means of the eclipse at Nineveh in 763, to the year B.C. 745, the reign of Pul must have fallen between the years 760 and 745. Now, according to my reckoning, that is the reckoning of Demetrius,* the year 760 is the 26th year of Uzziah, and the last year of Jeroboam king of Israel, and it is the third year after the eclipse of June, B.C. 763: and with reference to this eclipse the prophet Amos writes—"And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day" (Amos viii, 9); and again, "Thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land" (vii, 11). Accordingly, it was in the year 760 that "the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pileser, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites and the Gadites," &c. (1 Chron. v, 26), and when Jeroboam must have died by the sword.

The chronology of the Assyrian empire, therefore, may thus be collected:—

Elamite, or Median, domination,	lasted	224	years, from B.C.	2287
Eleven kings	,,	(175)	,, ,,	2062
From Ninus and Semiramis ..	,,	458	,, ,,	1889
Arabian invasion	,,	145	,, ,,	1431
Assyrian empire from Ninippalzara	,,	526	,, ,,	1286
Invasion of Pul the Chaldean	,,	15	,, ,,	760
Restoration of the Assyrian empire under Tiglath-Pileser and his successors	,,	135	,, ,,	745†
Invasion of the Scythians ..	,,	28	,, ,,	610
Final destruction of Nineveh and empire of the Medes ..			,, ,,	583

From the foregoing reasoning, I submit that two things may be inferred with absolutely certainty—

1st. That the Median empire, after the fall of Nineveh, did not begin till after the year B.C. 585.

* See p. 365.

† Fixed by the eclipse recorded at Nineveh in B.C. 763, eighteen years before his accession. The path of this eclipse, as calculated by Mr. Hind, is given as frontispiece to "Messiah the Prince."

2nd. That since Cyaxares king of Media was still reigning in 585, and Astyages his son married the daughter of Alyattes in that year, and was on the throne at least forty years after that date, the conquest of the Medes by the Persians, and the establishment of the supremacy of the latter, did not take place under Cyrus so early as B.C. 559 : nor probably till the year B.C. 538, that is to say, till after the traditional date of the fall of Astyages, B.C. 539, as preserved by Syncellus both in the astronomical and the ecclesiastical canons.

I would earnestly suggest, therefore, to historians to take into consideration the impossibility of maintaining the reckoning of Herodotus when treating of the times of the Median and Persian empires, which is at variance with the one leading date which he has been the means of preserving to us : and that they should give heed to the histories of Ctesias and Xenophon, which are found in harmony with that date, but which are too frequently set aside as mere romance.

Astronomers also will permit me to point out that they are apparently wasting their strength, while endeavouring to rectify the theory of the moon's secular acceleration on the assumption that the siege of Larissa, which happened when the Medes were conquered by the Persians, took place so early as the year B.C. 557, and assuming as the fundamental point in their calculations that the shadow of the solar eclipse of that year must have passed centrally over that city.* While theologians will excuse me, if I entreat them no longer to make void and unintelligible the most gracious of all gracious revelations ever vouchsafed to man from heaven, by continuing to uphold the untenable contradiction, that the prophet Daniel when speaking of the great king "Darius," who took the government of Babylon in hand when about sixty-two years of age, and from whose reign are counted the "weeks" of years "unto Messiah the Prince," was speaking of some Median king bearing quite another title, or of any other king than the well known king Darius, son of Hystaspes.†

* See Philosophical Transactions, 1853. Sir John Herschel's Astronomy, p. 685; and Hansen's Lunar and Solar Tables.

† See the last two, and most learned, commentaries on the Book of Daniel, by Dr. Pusey, and the present Bishop of Lincoln.

III.—As regards Lydia.

Concerning the chronology of the kings of Lydia, two dates may be considered as fixed with almost absolute certainty. First, that Gyges, the successor of Candaules, began to reign in the year B.C. 704–3, in the first year of the 19th Olympiad. Second, that Alyattes began to reign in the year B.C. 605–4. The interval between these two reigns is exactly ninety-nine years, which in our present copies of Herodotus is thus filled up :—

Gyges reigns	38 years.
Ardys	49 „
Sadyattes	12 „
	99 years.

As regards the first of these dates, Pliny records that Candaules died in the course of the 18th Olympiad = B.C. 708–4 : and Clement of Alexandria, that Gyges began to reign after the 18th Olympiad, that is in B.C. 704–3. As regards the second, the accession of Alyattes is fixed by the Parian Chronicle to the year B.C. 605–4.

The interval between the time of the accession of Gyges and the reign of Alyattes has been filled up by Eusebius almost according to fancy : thus—

	Chronicle of Eusebius.*		Canon of Eusebius.	Syncellus.
	Part I.	Part II.		
Gyges ..	35 years.	36	.. 36 ..	36
Ardys ..	37 „	48	.. 38 ..	33
Sadyattes ..	5 „	15	.. 15 ..	15
	77 years.	99	89	89

In the uncertainty produced by these several variations, showing the very wavering character of this portion of the chronology of Eusebius, the Annals of Assurbanipal come to our assistance with much precision to rectify his dates. For, as I have already shown (p. 342), Psammetichus fled to the court of Gyges in the year B.C. 655–4, and Gyges, who favoured his revolt against Assyria, also died in that same year. Gyges, therefore, must have reigned forty-nine years, from B.C. 703 to 655, not thirty-six years as given by Eusebius, nor thirty-eight years as in our present copies of Herodotus. It is clear, therefore, that either Herodotus, or more

* Armenian copy. Aucher.

probably his copyist, had reversed the figures attached to the regnal years of Gyges and his son Ardys, which should be written forty-nine for the first, and thirty-eight for the second, producing after correction the following chronology of the kingdom of Lydia :—

Gyges	reigns	49	years,	from	B.C. 703
Ardys	,,	38	,,	,,	654
Sadyattes	,,	12	,,	,,	616
Alyattes	,,	57	,,	,,	604
Crœsus	,,	14	,,	,,	548 to 534

And thus the conquest of Crœsus falls, as it should do, not many years after the establishment of the supremacy of the Persians over the Medes, which, as I have said, took place in the year B.C. 538, on the death of Astyages, who was buried with kingly honours by his son-in-law Cyrus father of Cambyses, who took the throne of Ecbatana in B.C. 538, and established the empire of the Persians.

IV. As regards Judæa.

From the foregoing history of Assurbanipal, following chiefly the outline laid down in Cylinder A, we learn that in his first expedition he drove Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, out of Egypt, and established the dodecarchy in B.C. 668–7 (p. 15).

That in his second expedition against Egypt, after the death of Tirhakah, he drove Rudammon, or Urdumane, stepson of Tirhakah, out of Egypt, in B.C. 656 (p. 52).

That in his third expedition he besieged Tyre: and that the date of that year is fixed as being that of the death of Gyges, king of Lydia, and the accession of Ardys, = B.C. 655–4 (p. 58).

That his fourth expedition (Cylinder B) was directed against the city of Karbit, beyond the Tigris to the east, when the population of Karbit was transported into Egypt: before Psammetichus, therefore, had become established sole king of Egypt: in B.C. 654 (p. 79).

That in the following year (p. 100, Cylinder B) he invaded Elam: when Urtaki king of Elam was slain, and Teumman set upon the throne of Elam, B.C. 653–2.

That in his fifth expedition Teumman was slain, and Ummanigas and Tammaritu were placed on the thrones of Elam and Hidalu; after which Saulmugina his brother, viceroy of Babylon, revolted, in the year when Assur-dur-uzur was archon eponymous at Nineveh, B.C. 652–1 (pp. 110, 151).

And—which is a point to be carefully observed—that after the elevation of Ummanigas and Tammaritu, in B.C. 652, Assurbanipal despatched an envoy to Elam to demand the restoration of the image of Nana, which had been carried off to Shushan by Kudurnanhundi, 1635 years before that time, that is in (1635+652 =) B.C. 2287 (p. 200).

The result of these wars in Elam was the entire wasting and depopulation of that country, and the destruction of Shushan:* and now it was, we may assume, that Assurbanipal began to transport the population of Elam into the vacant cities of Samaria, which had been laid waste by Sargon, Shalmanezer, and Sennacherib, though tributary kings of Assyrian appointment had still continued to reign in that kingdom. The transportation of the Elamites was probably soon followed by that of the Babylonians and Susanchites, who, we have seen, were associated in revolt with Elam, and were conquered, and severely punished.

We find from the cylinders of Esarhaddon that Abibahal was king of Samaria as late as B.C. 673, and, together with Manasseh king of Judah, gave tribute to Esarhaddon; but before the year B.C. 646, according to Mr. Smith, an Assyrian governor is named as having been placed over Samaria, showing that the kingdom had then entirely ceased, and the country had become incorporated with Assyria. Now Isaiah, speaking in the first or second year of the reign of Ahaz, had said: "Within three score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people" (Isaiah vii. 8): and if we count sixty-five years upwards from the conquest of Teumman and the Elamites, in B.C. 652, we come to the year B.C. 717, which, according to the reckoning of Demetrius, is the second year of Ahaz. Again, the Seder Olam Rabbah, or great chronicle of the Jews (ch. xiv), places the carrying away of Manasseh to Babylon by the

* It is interesting to find here distinct notice of the river Ulai near Shushan, referred to by Daniel viii, 2, the existence of which has been doubted (p. 111).

king of Assyria in the 22nd year of Manasseh: and this 22nd of Manasseh, according to Demetrius, is B.C. 652. So that it appears that in that year an exchange of population between Palestine and the kingdoms of Elam and Babylonia had taken place, in conformity with the policy adopted by the kings of Assyria from the time of Tiglath-Pileser. Ezra refers to this migration of captives, when, in transcribing a letter from the people of Samaria to Darius, in later days, he alludes to the "Archevites, or people of Warka in Babylonia, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnappar brought over and set in the cities of Samaria" (Ezra iv, 9, 10).

With regard to the title Asnappar, for Assurbanipal, it must be observed that the letter from the Samaritans which Ezra transcribes is written, not in Hebrew, but in the Aramaic language, and that the last syllable "pal," which signifies son in Assyrian, would properly be written "bar," or "par," which signifies son, in Aramaic. So that the name of the Assyrian king, which if written in full would have been Assur-bani-par,* had become contracted in course of time by the Samaritan mixed population brought from Babylonia and Elam, into the form transcribed by Ezra.

I have observed that the time of this transportation of captives in B.C. 652, from Elam to Samaria falls in correctly with the reckoning of Demetrius, who wrote a history of the kings of Judæa about the year B.C. 222; and, as I believe that he who adopts the reckoning of Demetrius has the key to the interpretation both of Assyrian and Hebrew chronology in his hands, it may not be unuseful if I here set out the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, with their dates, as derived from an abstract of dates from Demetrius, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, concerning the captivities of Judah and Israel, and compare them with the Assyrian Canon.

"Demetrius, in his book on the kings of Judæa," writes Clement, "says that the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib; but that from this captivity, (that is from the *first* carrying away of captives from the land of Judah in B.C. 688) to the *last* which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem (Jerem. lii, 30),

* Dr. Haigh considers that the second element of the name, bani, may also represent, na.

there were a hundred and twenty-eight years and six months; and from the time that the ten tribes were carried captive from Samaria till the fourth Ptolemy were five (*read* four) hundred and seventy-three years, nine months; and that from the time that the (last) captivity from Jerusalem took place, three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months."*

Demetrius compared with the Assyrian Canon.

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.						PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON.	
B.C.	Kings of Judah.	B.C.	Kings of Israel.		B.C.		B.C.
						End of 1*st Soss*	1028
993	Solomon .. 40 years.					Divided into Sosses, or periods of 60 years.	
						End of 2*nd Soss*	968
953	Rehoboam 17	953	Jeroboam 22 years.		..	..	
936	Abijah .. 3		..		..	..	
933	Asa 41	933	Nadab .. 2		..	..	
..	..	..	Baasha .. 24		..	..	
..	..		..		928	Vul-nirari 20	
..	..		..		908	Tukulti-Ninip .. 3	
..	..	907	Elah .. } 2		..	..	
..	..		Zimri .. }			*End of* 3*rd Soss*	908
..	..	906	Omri .. 12		..	..	
..	..	894	Ahab .. 22		902	Assur-nazir-pal .. 28	
..	..	..	..		..	..	
892	Jehoshaphat 25	..	..		..	..	
..	..	..	..		877	Shalmaneser II. .. 35	
..	..	872	Ahaziah 2		..	..	872†
..	..	871	Joram .. 11–12		..	..	
868	Jehoram .. 7–8	..	..		..	..	
861	Ahaziah .. 1	..	..		..	..	
860	Athaliah .. 6	860	Jehu .. 27–28		..	..	860‡
854	Joash .. 40	..	..		..	..	
						End of 4*th Soss*	848

* Clem. Alex. Strom. 1

† Shalmanezer in his 6th year conquers Benhadad, supported by troops of Ahab.

‡ Shalmanezer in his 18th year takes tribute of Jehu, and fights with Hazael.

DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON—*continued.*

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.				B.C.	PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON.	B.C.
B.C.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	B.C.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.			
	YEARS		YEARS.			
..	..	..	..	..	Beginning of a *Cycle* *	847
..	..	..	..	842	[Assurdaninpal † YEARS. 19]?	
..	..	832	Jehoahaz 17	..	..	
..	..	..	..	823	Samsi-vul III. .. 13	
..	..	815	Jehoash 16-15	..	..	
814	Amaziah .. 29	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	810	Vul-nirari 29	
..	..	800	Jeroboam 41	..	..	
					Cycle (karru) *5th Soss* ‡	788
..	..	..	..	..	Nebo enters his new temple	787
785	Uzziah .. 52	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	781	Shalmanuzur .. 10	
..	..	..	..	771	Assurdayan .. 18	
..	..	759	Interregnum 12	..	*Solar Eclipse* §	763
..	..	..	..	753	Assur-nirari .. 8	
..	..	747	Menahem 10	..	..	
..	..	..	..	745	Tiglath-Pileser .. 22	
..	..	736	Pekahiah 2	..	In association with Shalmanezer and	
..	..	734	Pekah .. 20	..	Sargon .. 11	
734	Jotham .. 16	..	..	..	..	
					End of 6th Soss	728
..	..	..	..	723	Shalmanezer ..	
..	..	..	..	722	Sargon 17	
718	Ahaz .. 16	..	..	..	..	
..	..	714	Interregnum 9	..	..	
..	..	705	Hoshea 9	705	Sennacherib .. 24	
702	Hezekiah.. 29	..	..	..	..	
..	..	696	‖ ——— Captivity of the Ten Tribes 473 years 9 months before the IV^th^ Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222.	..	..	
					Sennacherib carries away captives from Judæa	688¶
..	..	..		680	Esarhaddon.. .. 13	
673	Manasseh 55	..		..	..	
..	..	..	..	668	Assurbanipal .. 42	
					End of 7th Soss	668

* Shalmanezer inaugurates a Cycle in his 31st year. Annals of Shalmanezer II.

† Assurdaninpal, who usurped the throne, is omitted from the Assyrian Canon. By allowing nineteen years to this reign, the interval of sixty years between two cycles is made up. See the acts of this king in Oppert's Histoire des empire de Chaldée et d'Assyrie, p. 123.

‡ 23rd year of Vulnirari marked as a Cycle in the Canon.

§ 9th year of Assurdayan marked by a Solar Eclipse in Sivan (15th June, 763).

‖ This date is found upon ancient gravestones in the Crimea.—See Professor Chwolson's treatise on these stones, "Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences," St. Petersburg, 1865.

¶ Demetrius.

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS—*continued.*

B.C.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	B.C.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.	B.C.	KINGS OF ASSYRIA.	B.C.
..	..	652	People of Elam, Shushan, and Babylonia transported to Samaria, within 65 years from the 1st of Ahaz. Ezra iv, 10. Isaiah vii, 8.		Image of Nana reclaimed by Assurbanipal After 2 Ners = 1200 years 7 Sosses = 420 „ 15 years 15 „ 1635 years*	652
..	..	..	..	625	Sardanapalus or Nabopalassar 20	
618	Amon .. 2					
616	Josiah .. 31					
					End of 8th Soss	608
				605	[Bel-sum-iskun] (?) Saracus	
	Jehoahaz M. 3			581	1st Nebuchadnezzar 43	
585	Jehoiakim 11					
574	Jechoniah 3					
573	Zedekiah 11					
563	Temple of Jerusalem destroyed.	..	..	563	19th Nebuchadnezzar	
560	Last transportation of captives by Nebuchadnezzar 338 years 3 months before the IV^th^ Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222.		KINGS OF PERSIA.			
		559	Cyrus father of Cambyses 29		*End of 9th Soss*	548
		538	succeeds Astyages	538	Evilmerodach 3	
	Jerusalem remains seventy years in a state of desolation, till the 1st year of Darius. (Dan. ix, 1).		Babylon taken by Cyrus son of Cambyses, his father and grandfather being still alive, about B.C. 536.		Nergal-Sharezar, Rab-mag? §	
		536	Cambyses ‡ 18	536	Nabonadius, local king 17	
		520	Cyrus son of Cambyses	495	Belshazzar son of Nabonadius	
		517	Darius 36			
492	Darius† son of Hystaspes	..	..	492	Darius son of Hystaspes ¶	
		493	Artaxerxes (Xerxes) ‖		*End of 10th Soss*	488

* See p. 251.

† Darius "took the kingdom being about three score and two years old."—Dan. v, 31.

‡ Cyrus associates his son Cambyses with him in B.C. 536, when Darius is about nineteen years old. (Herod. i, 108.) Ctesias, therefore, says that he reigned eighteen years, Clement says nineteen. He continued to reign till B.C. 518, spending his last five years in Egypt.—Ctesias.

‖ Artaxerxes (Xerxes) took the kingdom (of Persia) Darius being full of years, LXX.—Dan. v, 31.

§ Jerem. xxxix, 3. ¶ Darius now styled "king of Assyria."—Ezra vi, 22.

Thus the Books of Daniel and Ezra, which as we have seen* are incomprehensible as regards their chronology according to the common reckoning, become intelligible when interpreted in connexion with the reckoning of Demetrius. For the year in which "Darius the Median took the kingdom," (that is, put down the turbulent satrapy of Babylon, and took the government of Babylon and Assyria into his own hands) when about sixty-two years' old, is found to be the year B.C. 492, when Darius the son of Hystaspes was actually about that age. And from the LXX version of Daniel we find that Artaxerxes (or Xerxes) first came to the throne of Persia in association with his father Darius in that same year. *Καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ των Μήδων παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Δαρείος πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν γήρει.* While Ezra, speaking of the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes, records how "Ahasuerus," that is Xerxes, "*in the beginning of his reign*,"—the common phrase applied to the time preceding his actual reign—was appealed to to stop the building, and how it was "builded and finished" in the sixth year of Darius, that is B.C. March 486, "by the commandment of Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia": four years after the battle of Marathon, when Darius had, as Herodotus tells us, placed Xerxes on the throne as king, and when according to Ezra he must have assumed the title Artaxerxes (Ezra vi, 14, 15). But it has been objected that Daniel, according to this view, "gives the monarch a wrong parentage (Ahasuerus instead of Hystaspes) and a wrong nationality (Median instead of Persian).† Here is a difficulty which must not be slurred over too hastily. Ahasuerus, as I have said, represents Xerxes in the Book of Ezra: and Xerxes we know was son of Darius Hystaspes, not his father. How then could Daniel, who knew the parentage of Darius, call him son of Xerxes, which is not true? The LXX translation affords, perhaps, some clue towards the solution of the difficulty, where we read (ch. ix, 1), *Ἔτους πρώτου ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξερξοῦ, ἀπο τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ὃι ἐβασίλευσαν ἐπὶ την βασιλείαν πῶν Χαλδαίων.* The words *ὃι ἐβασίλευσαν* are significant. For, the two kings, Darius and Xerxes, we have seen, had already become associated on the throne together, according to the LXX, as early as the year B.C. 492: and we here read that they

* See p. 351. † Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 16.

were conjointly reigning over the Chaldeans, after Belshazzar's death. We might, therefore, be disposed to cut the matter short,, and laying blame on the copyist, assume that the original reading of the passage was not "in the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus," but in the first year of Darius *and* Ahasuerus, that is, of Darius and Xerxes. This is in fact the truth as regards time. And with regard to the nationality of the king, as Larcher observes, "Herodotus and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes." Even as late as the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks who favoured the Persian cause were said to Medize.

Nevertheless, I do not think that this is what Daniel intended to express. Both Daniel and Demetrius lead us to look towards the latter part of the reign of Darius for the time when he took the government of Babylon into his own hands, when we know from Herodotus that a great revolution had taken place in his dominions, in which the satrapies of Ionia and Babylon were involved, and when probably it was sought to set up again the Assyrian empire under a Median prince.* For the Medes were restless under the Persians, and more than one pretender to the throne in the early part of the reign of Darius we know, from the inscription at Behistûn, had set up his claim as "of the race of Uwakshatara," or Cyaxares the Mede. I am inclined, therefore, to think that Daniel here intends to put forward the title of Darius to be called "king of Assyria,"† as in some way connected with, or descended from Cyaxares who overthrew the empire of Assyria; that is to say, as the true representative of Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares II, who was son of Astyages. Herodotus we know had never heard of this prince. Xenophon, however, has given a full account of him. He was no doubt the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, who married Hadassah, or 'Atossa the Jewish captive. Now Darius Hystaspes also undoubtedly married a princess named 'Atossa, and we have no reason to doubt that 'Atossa was widow of Cambyses. But when Herodotus, unable to account for her royal extraction, calls her the sister as well as wife of Cambyses, we are not bound to believe him. 'Atossa was probably the daughter of Ahasuerus and Hadassah, and so, as in the parallel instance, David son of Saul,‡ "Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," truly signifies

* Herod. i, 130; iii, 150. † Ezra vi, 22. ‡ 1 Samuel xxiv, 16.

Darius Hystaspes, son-in-law, and representative of, Cyaxares the Mede.* Any supposition seems to be preferable to the idea that "Darius son of Ahasuerus" was Cyaxares son of Astyages.† Whatever the true solution of the difficulty may be, as regards title, there can be no question as to the chronology.

With regard to the time of the death of Belshazzar, who we now know was the son of Nabonadius, I am not aware of any ancient authority for placing the revolt of this king earlier than in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. The Chronicle of Tabari records that, after the death of Kai-Khosru (Cyrus), Lohrasp (Cambyses) took the throne; that Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes) succeeded him; and that in the reign of Gushtasp, a general named Coresh, governor of 'Irâq, was sent against Nebuchodonosor (Nabonadius) who ruled at Babylon, and that, having captured this prince, he sent him to Balk. After this Coresh took the throne of Babylon, and immediately released the children of Israel from captivity.‡ According to this account, therefore, no revolt of Belshazzar, son of Nabonadius, could have taken place earlier than the reign of Gushtasp.

Xenophon tells us that Cyrus took Babylon for the first time in the reign of the Persians, when Cambyses his father was reigning in Persia, and Cyrus himself not yet a king. I believe that he took the city a second time during his father's life, though of this we have no record in Herodotus or Xenophon. Orosius, however, writes—"Babylon for the last time was overthrown by King Cyrus, when Rome for the first time was freed from the tyranny of the Tarquin kings,"§ that is about B.C. 510. This date we know falls within the reign of Darius Hystaspes, but it is at least ten years too low. Abydenus, copying probably from Berosus, tells us that when Cyrus took Babylon and captured Nabonadius, he gave him the principality of Carmania, and that "Darius the king drove him from that province."‖ So that, according to Abydenus also, no revolt of Belshazzar could have taken place earlier than the reign of Darius Hystaspes. I am inclined to think that Tabari's record is correct, and that Cyrus, son of Cambyses

* Some of the Persian writers relate that the mother of Kishtasp (Darius Hystaspes) was a Jewess. Others, that his queen (Atossa) was a Jewess.—"Times of Daniel," by the Duke of Manchester, p. 152.

† If any one thinks it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Astyages, he need find no difficulty in supposing it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Hystaspes.

‡ Zotenberg's Translation of Tabari, p. 495.

§ Orosius con. paganos. Lib. ii, c. 2, p. 74.

‖ Eusebius Auch. p. 30.

king of Persia, deposed Nabonadius when Darius was actually on the throne, though not on the throne of the Persian empire. For in the Behistûn inscription Darius seems to claim to himself the title of king by birth, rather than by usurpation. And when describing the events connected with the death of Gomates the Magian, after the death of Cambyses, he says: "This is what I did *after* I had become king." There is also a Persian inscription extant (H. Lassen, p. 15), in which Darius does not style himself as usual "king of kings," but simply "king," apparently "of this province of Persia."* It is to be observed that in the great inscription at Behistûn, Darius carefully avoids fixing dates to the events of his reign; and it is clear from the Parian Chronicle, Ctesias, Manetho, and the Apis monuments that his reign of thirty-six years did not begin till after the death of Cambyses in B.C. 518.† Nevertheless, in after days he must have placed the date of his first accession as early as B.C. 521, as appears from the dates of eclipses in his reign recorded by Ptolemy. It was, I think, in the interval between 521 and 518, while Cambyses was occupied in Egypt, and when the whole empire of Persia, as described by Darius on the rock, was in revolt against him, that Nabonadius was deposed by Cyrus son of Cambyses.‡ Be this, however, as it may, when Daniel, who was in Babylon, states the fact—"In that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom," —I am at a loss to understand how any one can venture to argue that Belshazzar died during the siege in the reign of Cyrus.§ All Babylonian contracts dated in the reign of Darius reckoned of course the years of his reign from the time when he first became master of Babylon, not from the time of his putting down the revolt of Belshazzar. The tablet, therefore, in the British Museum, bearing date in the 18th of Darius, in no way interferes with this interpretation.

In support of the assertion that Demetrius affords the key to the interpretation of Assyrian as well as Hebrew chronology, I will examine the interval of sixty years between the dates B.C. 734 and 674 in the above table, within which there is much confusion of history, and concerning which Mr. Smith writes: "If the taking of

* Journ. R. As. Soc., Vol. x, Part iii, p. 273.

† See Appendix to 2nd Edit. "Messiah the Prince," p. 371.

‡ In the "Fragmenta Vetustissimorum," quoted by the Duke of Manchester, p 236, Cyrus and Darius are said to have reigned together some few years.

§ See Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 15.

Samaria happened about B.C. 721, the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah B.C. 701, with the possibility of a second attack on Hezekiah about B.C. 688, these dates cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the Book of Kings."* I should much regret to be compelled to throw doubt upon the reckoning of the Book of Kings. Let us see, therefore, whether Demetrius can relieve us from the supposed difficulty, without straining either the Book of Kings or the Assyrian Canon.

1. Both the Babylonian and Assyrian Canons attest that Esarhaddon came to the throne of Assyria in the year B.C. 680. His father Sennacherib was slain in B.C. 681, and "in the month Sabadu (January) following, 680, he entered Nineveh and was proclaimed king of Assyria."†
2. The prophet Isaiah, towards the close of the historical portion of his book, speaks of the death of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon. We may, therefore, reasonably assume that Isaiah lived as late as the year B.C. 678, two years after Esarhaddon came to the throne (Isaiah xxxvii, 38).
3. Isaiah's first vision is dated "in the year that king Uzziah died" (vi, 1): and, according to the common reckoning, this year is set down in the margin of our Bibles as B.C. 760.

So that, according to the common reckoning, there is an interval of above eighty-two years between Isaiah's first vision and the end of his life. And if we may assume that he began to prophecy at the age of twenty, he would have died when upwards of one hundred years' old. We dismiss, then, the common reckoning of our Bibles as highly improbable with regard to "the year that king Uzziah died."

Demetrius, on the other hand, places the death of Uzziah king of Judah in B.C. 734, and the death of the contemporary king of Israel, Menahem, in B.C. 737, thus making the age of Isaiah about seventy-six at his death.

That the date of Demetrius is true, and exact, is certified by the the most accurate test applicable to chronology, viz., by an eclipse registered at Nineveh in the month of June, B.C. 763, and recorded in the Assyrian Canon. For this eclipse is there set down as having happened eighteen years before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, who

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, 1871, p. 3. † Ibid. p. 10.

came to the throne, therefore, as all Assyrian interpreters agree, in the year B.C. 745-4.

4. Now Tiglath-Pileser, according to his own annals,* in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 738), received tribute of Menahem king of Samaria: and this Menahem we know had given "Pul," the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser, "a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). Therefore, as Menahem reigned not more than ten years in Samaria, this eighth year of Tiglath-Pileser (738) must have been either the ninth or tenth year of Menahem, that is either 738 or 737.
5. Again, Menahem died three years before Uzziah (2 Kings xv, 17): "the year when king Uzziah died," therefore, according to Tiglath-Pileser's annals, was either B.C. 735, or 734, which agrees with Demetrius.

Thus far nothing can be required to add to the clearness of the agreement between the reckoning of Demetrius and the reckoning of the Assyrian Inscriptions, as regards the beginning and end of the sixty years under consideration. Let us next inquire how far the filling up of the interval between B.C. 734 and 674 in the Book of Kings, according to Demetrius, agrees with the Assyrian Canon. And here, it must be admitted, there is some difficulty.

In the foregoing table we find that Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, from B.C. 702 to 674. This I assume to be correct.

According to the Assyrian Canon, Sennacherib reigned twenty-four years, from B.C. 705 to 681. This is undoubtedly correct.

Hezekiah and Sennacherib therefore, according to Demetrius, were contemporaries, and the common reckoning of the reign of Hezekiah, from B.C. 726 to 698, must be dismissed.

Now, there are several cylinders in the British Museum relating to the reign of Sennacherib, some perfect, and some in a fragmentary state. Taylor's Cylinder is perfect, and has been translated by Mr. Fox Talbot.† It is dated "on the 20th day of the month Addaru, in the archonship of Belemurani, prefect of Carchemish," and contains the history of eight of Sennacherib's expeditions.

* Berlin Zeitschrift, Jan. 1869, p. 13.

† Journ. R. Asiatic Soc., 1861, Vol. xix, Part 2.

Belemurani was archon eponymous in B.C. 691-90. He also gave his name to the year a second time, as Tartan, in B.C. 686-5. I had always considered that the date of Taylor's Cylinder was March B.C. 685, that year marking the date of the eighth expedition, at the close of the year in which he was Tartan, and that the third expedition of Sennacherib was therefore in B.C. 690.

Mr. Smith, however, who has the care of the Assyrian department in the British Museum, states distinctly that there are two cylinders dated in the archonship of Mitunu, B.C. 700, which contain an account of Sennacherib's attack upon Hezekiah in his third expedition, which must therefore be placed not later than B.C. 701;* and Taylor's Cylinder must therefore be dated in the time of Belemurani the Prefect. The question is how far do these cylinders corroborate the reckoning of Demetrius. Let us examine.

Hezekiah began to reign in the year B.C. 702. And if we date Taylor's Cylinder in B.C. 690, the third expedition of Sennacherib falls in the year 701. So that Sennacherib would have attacked Hezekiah in the second year of his reign.

Now, if we turn to the Second Book of Chronicles, ch. xxix, xxx, xxxi, we read of all that Hezekiah did in his *first year*, in the first month, the second month, the third month, and on to the seventh month of B.C. 702. Ch. xxxii then begins—"After these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them to himself." Hezekiah then "stopped the fountains." He "*built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David,*" and in every way resisted the power of Sennacherib. Now, although no regnal year is named for this invasion, there seems to be good reason, so far as the Book of Chronicles is concerned, for placing it in the second year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701, when Sennacherib relates of himself,—"Then Hezekiah, *who had not bowed down to my yoke*, forty-six of his large cities"—"I utterly destroyed." "He himself *shut himself up in his royal city Jerusalem. He built towers of defence* over it, and he *strengthened and rebuilt the bulwarks of his great gate.*" "Thirty talents of gold, eight

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 6.

hundred talents of silver, scarlet robes," &c.—"this mighty spoil unto Nineveh my royal city after me I brought away." These two accounts are clearly descriptive of the same events. And they must, therefore, have taken place in the year B.C. 701. The Book of Chronicles then goes on to say,—"*After* this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, but he himself went against Lacish," that is to say, in the 14th year of Hezekiah, 689, when the army of Sennacherib was suddenly destroyed.

Let us now turn to the Second Book of Kings (xviii, 7), where the first act related of Hezekiah is, that "he rebelled against the king of Assyria and served him not." This rebellion must be referred to the time of the first resistance offered to Sennacherib in 701; after which a combination was probably formed between Hezekiah, Hoshea, and So, or Sethos king of Egypt, to resist the power of Assyria,* lasting till the fall of Samaria, in B.C. 696. For we next read (xviii, 9)—"It came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah (699–8), which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmanezer king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it. And at the end of three years *they*† took it, even in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that is the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel (997–6). And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel," &c., that is to say, in the following year, B.C. 696–5. Now we see by the foregoing table that this is the very year of the captivity of Israel fixed by Demetrius, four hundred and seventy-three years and nine months before the reign of the IVth Ptolemy; and, as I have elsewhere shown, it is the year also of their captivity recorded upon gravestones in the Crimea by Jews descended from the ten tribes.

But how, it will be asked, could Shalmanezer have besieged and captured Samaria in B.C. 696, as "king of Assyria," if Sennacherib had already come to the throne of Assyria some ten years before, that is in B.C. 705. This apparent difficulty is in fact a valuable testimony to the correctness of Demetrius. For, if we turn to the Book of Hoshea, the whole subject of which is the final destruction of the kingdom of Ephraim, and the removal of the remnant of the ten tribes from Samaria, we read—"When Ephraim saw her sickness"—

* It was now that Menahem, Sennacherib's nominee to the throne of Samaria, was displaced.

† That is the army of Sennacherib and Shalmanezer.

"then went Ephraim to the Assyrian,* and sent to king Jareb (or Irib)," that is to king Sennacherib, "yet he could not heal you" (v, 13). And again—"The people of Samaria shall fear, because of the calves of Beth-aven"—"It (the golden calf) shall be carried unto Assyria, for a present to king Jareb (x, 6)"—"As Shalman (that is Shalmanezer) spoiled Beth-arbel"—"so shall he do to you Bethel."—"In a morning the king of Israel shall be cut off (x, 14, 15)." Thus it appears from this contemporary history that Sennacherib was king of Assyria at the time when "Shalmanezer king of Assyria" carried off the golden calf of Bethel and transported the ten tribes beyond the Euphrates. And from another contemporary witness it appears that though Shalmanezer's hand did the act, Sennacherib claimed to himself the triumph over Samaria. "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad?" says Sennacherib. "Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand" (Isaiah xxxvi, 19)? This testimony of the prophets Hosea and Isaiah seems to be decisive as to the correctness of the reckoning of Demetrius with regard to the fall of Samaria. Josephus is also an independent witness to the same effect. For he wrote with the Tyrian annals of Menander before him: and relates first the resistance offered by Hezekiah to the king of Assyria in the same manner as it is told in the Book of Chronicles, showing that he refers to Sennacherib. He then goes on to speak of the revolt of Hoshea, and of his falling away to So, or Sethos king of Egypt, and how Shalmanezer came and destroyed the government of Israel, and transported the people into Media and Persia after besieging Samaria for three years; and how also Shalmanezer besieged Ilulæus king of Tyre for five years without success; and lastly, how in the 14th of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came against Jerusalem, and his army was suddenly destroyed. It is difficult to believe that Josephus so misunderstood the records of Tyre as thus to have placed the siege of Tyre by Shalmanezer, after, instead of before the death of Sargon, if the earlier date was that recorded. If any further confirmation could be required, we find it in the fact that Shalmanezer and king Hoshea had been for some years contemporary with So, or Sethos king of

* When Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, passed through Samaria he laid tribute upon Menahem king of Samaria, his own nominee to the throne. If Hoshea who slew Pekah, also slew Menahem, this might be the "sickness" of Samaria which remained unhealed.

Egypt. But we have already seen (p. 347) that Sethos had not come to the throne of Egypt till the year B.C. 715. The idea then that the fall of Samaria, after a three years' siege by Shalmanezer, took place so early as B.C. 721 is absolutely untenable.* The true reckoning is that of Demetrius, and the reign of Hezekiah is rightly placed as beginning in B.C. 702.

The fact of the existence of a plurality of kings in Assyria, thus shown, is remarkably consistent with what we know of the great extension of the empire which had taken place under Tiglath-Pileser. And accordingly we find him boasting (Isaiah x, 8)—"Are not my princes altogether *kings*." "At that time," we read, "did king Ahaz send unto the *kings* of Assyria to help him" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16). And again, when Sennacherib came against Hezekiah, this king stopped the fountains, saying—"why should the *kings* of Assyria come and find much water" (xxxii, 4). I would also suggest, with submission to Mr. Smith's great knowledge of the Assyrian tablets, the possibility that Sin-inadina-pal, or Kiniladanus, who was associated with his father Esarhaddon on the throne before his father's death (p. 324), may have been the brother of Assurbanipal, and not Assurbanipal himself: thus making not less than three kings on the throne of the empire at the same time, in the year B.C. 668.

Twenty-nine years, of the sixty under consideration, have thus been satisfactorily accounted for by the help of Demetrius, and there remain thirty-one years, from the last year of Uzziah B.C. 734, to the first of Hezekiah, to be examined. This interval of thirty-one full years, or thirty-two current, is divided in the Book of Kings equally between the two kings of Judah, Jotham and Ahaz, to each of whom sixteen years are assigned. Jotham begins to reign in Judah in the course of B.C. 734, Pekah reigns over Israel twenty years from the same date till 715, and Ahaz reigns in Judah from B.C. 718 to 703. These dates I conceive to be correct within a single year.

From the Assyrian Canon, and from a series of dated tablets in the British Museum, admirably set forth by Mr. Smith in the Zeitschrift of July, 1869, we learn that Sargon reigned from B.C. 722 to 705. So that Ahaz and Sargon were contemporary kings, as Hezekiah and Sennacherib we have seen were contemporary.

* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

Now the history of Ahaz is preserved in the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah, with much distinctness. It appears that he began to reign when Pekah had been seventeen years on the throne of Samaria, and that in his first year, B.C. 718, Pekah together with Rezin king of Damascus endeavoured to get possession of Jerusalem, without success; that Rezin succeeded in settling a colony of Syrians at Elath; while Pekah carried away not less than 200,000 women, sons, and daughters from Judah: that Ahaz then asked help of the *kings* of Assyria: that Tiglath-Pileser *king* of Assyria came to him, "but strengthened him not" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16, 20): that Isaiah counselled Ahaz to be quiet, took witnesses to prove the time of the birth of one of his children, and then foretold to the king that "Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, shall be taken away before the king of Assyria," that is to say before the expiration of three years, ending in the years 715 or 714. We then read how Tiglath-Pileser took Damascus, carried the people to Kir, and slew Rezin their king: and how Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-Pileser, and sent a pattern of an altar from Damascus to Jerusalem, and remained some little time at the court of Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus, till after the altar had been erected (2 Kings xvi, 9, 12). Here, then, we obtain contemporary witness that Tiglath-Pileser was still on the throne at least as late as B.C. 716, though Shalmanezer and Sargon had both obtained the rank of kings before that time. For Rezin we are told was still alive eighteen years after the death of Uzziah in B.C. 734. It is remarkable also, that though the fall of Damascus is here spoken of, in conformity with the words of the prophet, no mention is made of the fall of Samaria. Tiglath-Pileser slew Rezin and took Damascus, but who spoiled Samaria? That both cities had now fallen before the king of Assyria we know from Isaiah. For about this time, say in B.C. 715, or 714, it was that Tiglath-Pileser made use of the expression just referred to—"Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus?" The inference then seems to be that Tiglath-Pileser, who had now come to within three years of the end of his life, had as usual associated certain princes with him on the throne, and that it had fallen to the lot of one of them to take Samaria. Be this as

it may, it is certain, according to the Hebrew account, that the kingdom of Samaria was deprived of its king in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, and, according to the interpretation of Demetrius, not earlier than about the year B.C. 715, or 716. Isaiah then makes mention of Ahaz for the last time (xiv, 28)—"In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden. Rejoice not thou whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken: for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice." These words either apply to the death of Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 712, followed by the invasion of Shalmanezer in 698—events apparently too wide apart—or to the death of Sargon, the conqueror and oppressor of Palestine, who died in August, B.C. 705, shortly before "the year that king Ahaz died," B.C. 703, followed by the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib in 701. The latter no doubt is the time referred to. And thus again the known date of Sargon's death, 705, according to his annals, marks the time of the death of Ahaz, which must have been soon after 705, as correctly laid down by Demetrius. It now only remains to be shown, how Hamath and Arpad, Samaria and Damascus, were, according to Assyrian records, subdued about the year B.C. 715, as reckoned by Demetrius, and by an Assyrian prince then associated on the throne with Tiglath-Pileser.

Let us turn to the work entitled "Les Fastes de Sargon," translated by MM. J. Oppert and J. Ménant, from inscriptions in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. "This is what I accomplished," writes Sargon,* "from the commencement of my reign up to my fifteenth campaign. I defeated, in the plains of Kalou, Khoumbanigas king of Elam. I besieged and occupied the city of Samaria; I carried into captivity 27,280 of its inhabitants; I levied upon them 50 chariots, leaving them the rest of their property; I placed over them my own rulers, and imposed upon them the tribute of the king supreme, or 'Sar Mahri;'"—the word Mahri being taken here as equivalent to the word מָרֵא in Daniel, "Lord," where it represents "Lord of kings" (Dan. ii, 47). He then goes on to recount his several military exploits in different countries, putting together when possible all that was done during the fifteen campaigns at each particular spot. The account of his attack on Samaria is modestly given. He does not even name the conquered king (Pekah); he speaks as if he was then only acting on behalf of the supreme king of Assyria. He makes the most

* Les Fastes de Sargon, p. 9.

indeed of his comparatively trifling capture of 27,000 inhabitants from Samaria, though Pekah had lately captured not less than 200,000 of the people of Judah; and then goes on to other exploits till, apparently about his seventh year, B.C. 715, he comes to the revolt of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, and the conquest of those confederate provinces in that year. Now the date of this conquest cannot be placed earlier than about the year 715; because Sargon previously speaks of a victory gained over Sebech, or Sabbaco, as general of the Egyptians, and of his imposing tribute on Pi-ir-chu, or Bi-ir-chu (Boccoris),* king of Egypt, whose reign we have seen (p. 347) did not begin till 715 at the earliest; and also of tributes laid upon Samsi queen of the Arabs and It-Himyar the Sabean. Again, in the fragmentary annals of Tiglath-Pileser, the chronological range of which is as yet very imperfectly defined, we read of the fall of Rezin, the putting down of Pekah, and first setting up of Hoshea,† and of the tributes placed upon Samsi queen of the Arabs, and on the Sabeans, which exploits, apparently, are the same as those accomplished by Sargon.‡ It is sufficiently clear that the putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria by Sargon was the result of war in the time of Pekah, Rezin, and Ahaz, not of war in the time of Hezekiah and Hoshea, eighteen years after. Also that the date of Pekah's death was about B.C. 715, the date of Demetrius, certainly not 730 as certain modern writers contend.§

I now quit the subject of the agreement of Demetrius with the Assyrian Annals, which has been established at the following points:—

Demetrius.		Assyrian Annals.	
Death of Uzziah	734	Death of Uzziah..	734–5
Putting down of Samaria and Damascus in the reign of Ahaz, 20 years later ..	715	Putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, about the 7th year of Sargon	715
Death of Ahaz after the breaking of "the rod that smote" him ..	703	Death of Sargon	705
Sennacherib's invasion in the 2nd year of Hezekiah ..	701	Sennacherib's third campaign, and invasion of Palestine	701
Death of Hezekiah after the accession of Esarhaddon	674	Accession of Esarhaddon ..	680

* This identification was first observed by Sir H. Rawlinson. † 2 Kings xv, 30.
‡ Zeitschrift, January, 1869. § Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

and I once more repeat that the correctness of his dates is placed beyond all question by their agreement with the dates of the three solar eclipses B.C. 763, 689, and 585, all which combine to lower the common reckoning exactly twenty-five years: and I now come to the consideration of another very interesting result to be derived from the history of Assurbanipal.

Rectification of the Assyrian Canon.

We read in the foregoing history (p. 200), that soon after Assurbanipal had established Ummanigas and Tammaritu on the throne in Elam, that is towards the early part of the year B.C. 652, and before the revolt of Saulmugina in 652-1, the king had despatched a herald to the court of the king of Elam to demand restitution of the image of the goddess Nana, which the Elamites had carried away to Shushan just 1635 years before that date (p. 234). In another passage Kudurnanhundi king of Elam is recorded as the king who had carried off the image, and it is there said to have remained in Elam during—

2 Ners	=	1200 years.
7 Sosses	=	420 ,,
15 years	=	15 ,,
		1635 years.

that is from the year B.C. 2287 to 652 (p. 251). Now we should place no great faith in the exactness of any such precise report of time after so great a lapse of years, did we not know from this and other sources that the Chaldeans and Assyrians had an exact method of reckoning time in cycles of Sari, Neri, and Sossi.

Abydenus writes—"A Sarus is three thousand six hundred years, a Nerus is six hundred, and a Sossus sixty." And Sir H. Rawlinson has deciphered a tablet in the Assyrian character, from which he gives "a specimen of the ordinary Babylonian sexagesimal notation," to which he has appended a "portion of a table of squares which extend in due order from 1 to 60."* Now if we might assume that the 15 years above spoken of beyond the even cycles, were to be reckoned after the end, and not before the beginning of the two Ners and seven Sosses, we should of course be enabled to fix the dates of

* Early History of Babylonia, p. 4.

a series of not less than twenty-seven Babylonian cycles of 60 years each, in the same way that the whole series of Sabbatical years and Jubilees of Hebrew Scripture have been accurately determined from two or three known dates, to the great assistance of chronologists in laying down the outline of Scripture history. That the correct position of these 15 years is at the end of the period, and not the beginning, is certain from the fact, that by so reckoning we arrive at a year in the Assyrian Canon which is registered as the termination of a cycle. For if we add fifteen years to B.C. 652, we find that B.C. 667 should be the first year of a cycle, and adding again two Sosses or 120 years to that figure, we find that B.C. 787 was actually the first year of a cycle. For the previous year 788 is registered in the Canon as the last year of a cycle. Dr. Haigh* I believe was the first to mark the bearing of these cycles upon the Assyrian Canon. Though apparently unacquainted with the passage in Assurbanipal's Annals concerning the image of Nana, he wrote in July 1870—"*Karru*, in the year B.C. 788 (translated Jubilé by Dr. Oppert), marks the last year of a cycle, a line below B.C. 728, marks another; and one below B.C. 668 probably another."

In the Assyrian Canon, as interpreted by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Shalmanezer II, whose annals are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum, in his thirty-first year appears to have "*inaugurated a second cycle*":† and Sir Henry observes that the verb used in this passage is *akrur*, from כָּרַר, "to move in a circle" (Gesenius). Between this thirty-first year however, B.C. 828, as commonly arranged, and B.C. 788, there are but forty years, instead of sixty. Dr. Haigh therefore, after laying down a calendar of cycles with intercalated months, from B.C. 787 to 688, in conformity with known "astronomical observations from Assyrian documents," goes on to suggest, that the reign of Assur-dan-pal, son of Shalmanezer, who revolted from his father, and secured to himself the allegiance of twenty-seven of the principal cities of Assyria for a period, as he assumes, of nineteen or twenty years, during which the appointment of eponomous archons over the great cities was probably suspended, should be interpolated in the Canon, by which the thirty-first year of Shalmanezer, B.C. 828, will become B.C. 847, and be the first year of a "second cycle" of sixty

* Zeitschrift July and August, 1870.

† Athenæum, 7th Sept., 1867.

years in that king's reign: and he closes his observations by saying—"This circumstance, combined with others noted above, seems to me to establish a certainty that Assur-dan-pal reigned for twenty or nineteen years, from B.C. 844, or 843, to 824." I have no doubt that Dr. Haigh is correct in this suggestion, and I have, accordingly, in the foregoing comparison of the reckoning of Demetrius with the Assyrian Canon, inserted in the Canon, a reign of nineteen years beginning in B.C. 842, between the reigns of Shalmanezer and Samsi-vul.

Here again the value of the Canon of Demetrius—for his record of dates is worthy of the title—is seen, as a true interpreter of Assyrian chronology. For according to Demetrius the year B.C. 860 was the year of the accession of Jehu king of Israel, of Hazael king of Syria, and of the death of Jezebel the widow of king Ahab. And in the eighteenth year of the reign of Shalmanezer, B.C. 860, thus corrected, we read—"I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus relying on the multitude of his soldiers collected his soldiers in great numbers—I fought with him and defeated him."* And Mr. Smith has written—"While examining part of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum, I lately discovered a short inscription of Shalmanezer II, king of Assyria, in which it is stated that Jehu king of Israel sent him tribute in the eighteenth year of his reign." Again in the sixth year of Shalmanezer, corrected to B.C. 872, "the Assyrians defeat the confederate forces of southern Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, at Aroer. Ahab of Jezreel was associated with Benhadad in this fight."† Now 872 is according to Demetrius the 23rd year of Ahab, in which he died, and in which Ahaziah came to the throne. So that the last year of Ahab, and first year of Jehu mark the sixth and eighteenth years of Shalmanezer. Neither of these years will bear to be moved without dislocation between Demetrius and the Canon. The striking fact is, not that nineteen years arbitrarily inserted into the Assyrian Canon bring it into harmony with Demetrius, but that nineteen years, neither more nor less, are required to complete the cycles referred to in that Canon: and that when so inserted, the reckoning of the two Canons is in harmony to a single year.

* "The Nimrûd Obelisk," by Dr. Hincks. Dublin Magazine, Oct. 1853.

† Sir H. Rawlinson; Athenæum, 18th May, 1867.

Assyrian interpreters are still much at variance with regard to the date of the eighteenth year of Shalmanezer. Sir Henry Rawlinson places the date in the year B.C. 841. Dr. Oppert places it in B.C. 888, not less than forty-seven years earlier. Dr. Hincks favoured the views of Dr. Oppert. Mr. Smith coincides with Sir H. Rawlinson. The true date, as I have endeavoured to show, B.C. 860, lies between the two. Let us test the probability of each of these three dates by the probable time of the death of Jezebel, who was slain by Jehu in the year of his accession. Jezebel we know was the daughter of Ithobal king of Tyre, and priest of Astarte, who lived to the age of sixty-eight, according to Menander's Annals of Tyre, and died just forty-two years before the sister of Pygmalion fled from Tyre and built the city of Carthage. Now Polybius, who was living at the time of the fall of Carthage, in B.C. 146, as quoted by Appian, informs us that Carthage had flourished seven hundred years from the time of its foundation to the time when the city was destroyed. The epitomizer of Levy records the same number of years. Suidas writes—Scipio took the city after it had ruled over the surrounding nations seven hundred years. Orosius writes—"Diruta est Carthago septingentesimo post anno quam condita erat." The colony of Carthage was founded therefore in the year B.C. 846: and Ithobal was born one hundred and ten years before the foundation, that is in B.C. 956. Now assuming that Jezebel his daughter was born about the twentieth, or twenty-fifth year of her father's age, that is in the year B.C. 936 or 931, her age at death would have been—

AGE OF JEZEBEL.

According to Oppert,	from 38 to 43	in the year B.C.	888		
„ Demetrius	„ 66 to 71	„ „	860		
„ Rawlinson	„ 85 to 90	„ „	841		

Clearly the intermediate date is the nearest to the truth. And thus by means of an entirely independent course of inquiry, our already well-founded faith in the accuracy of Demetrius is again confirmed: and the necessity of the proposed modification of the Assyrian Canon strongly supported.

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